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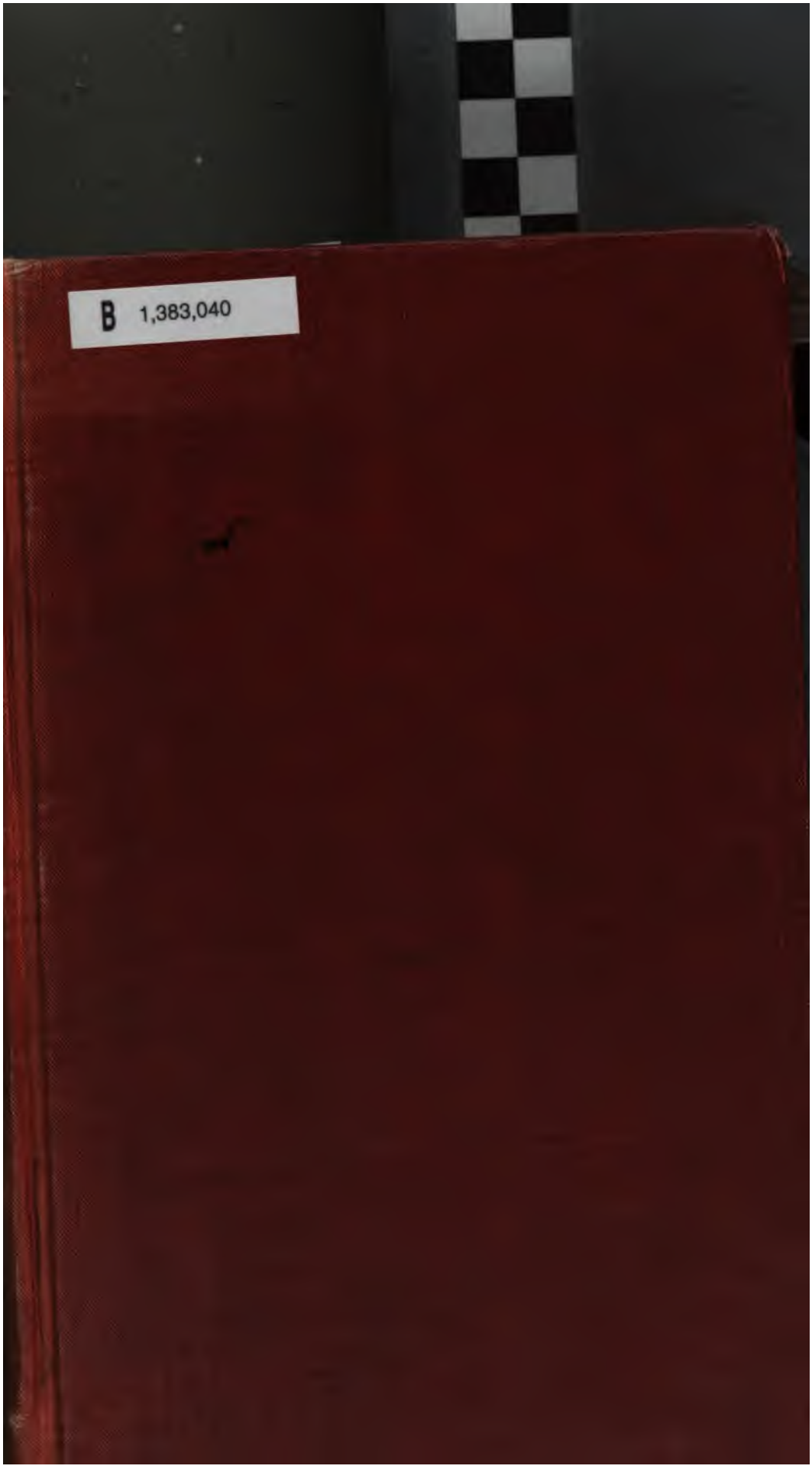
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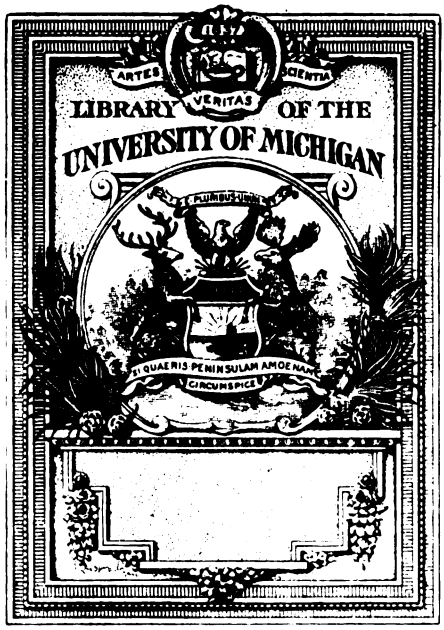
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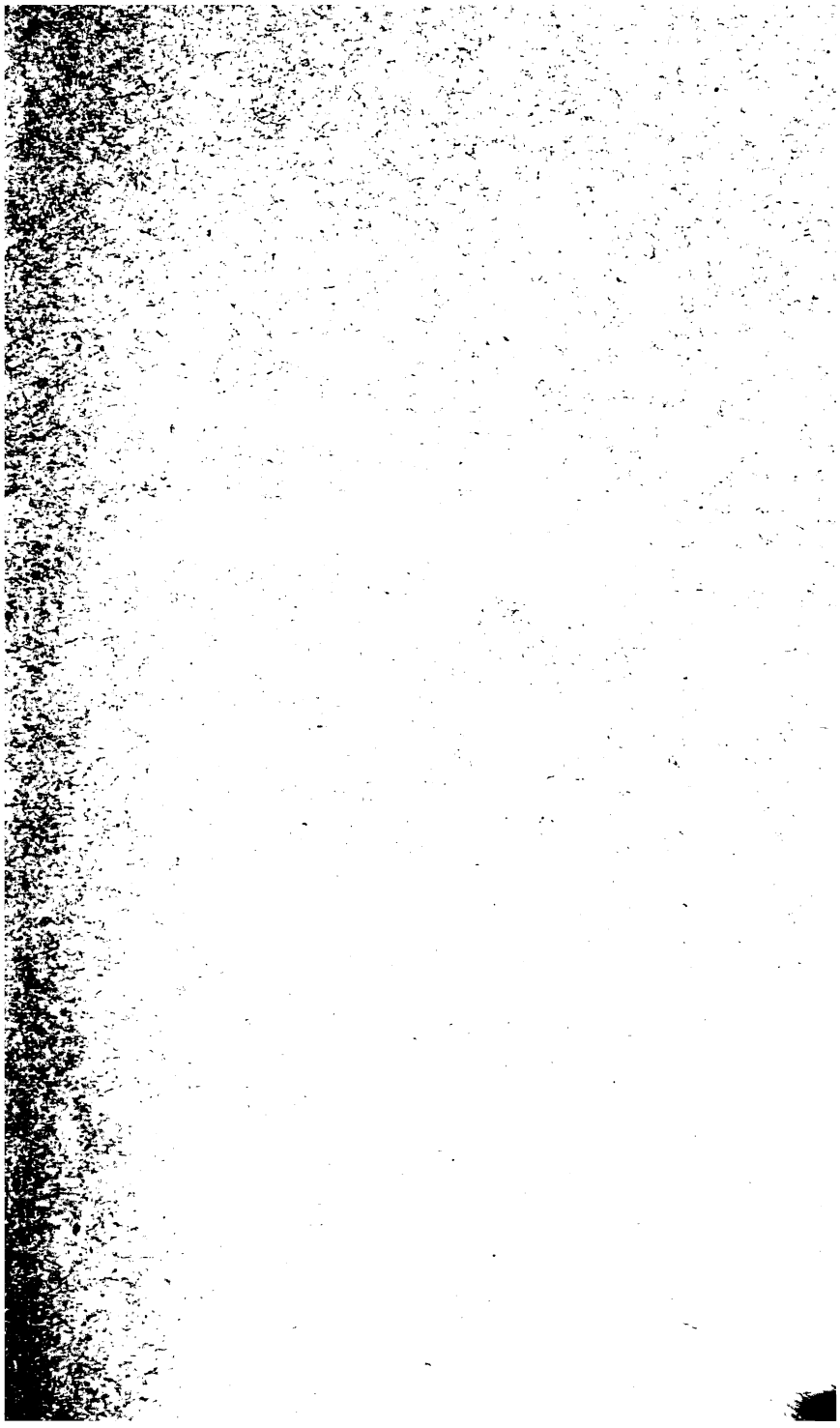

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THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES IN THE WEST INDIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY BRYAN EDWARDS, ESQ.

OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

LUKE WHITE.

M.DCC.XCIII.

CONTENTS.

BOOK IV.

PRESENT INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

SUMMARY account of the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Iſlands.—Claſſes.—Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland.—Predominant character of the European reſidents.—Creoles or Natives.—Effect of climate.—Character of the Creole Women and Children.—Of the people of Colour, and their different tribes or caſts.—Limitations and reſtrictions on the Mulattoes and native Blacks of free condition.—Their character at length, concluding with an Ode to the Sable Venus. P. 1

CHAP. II.

Of Negroes in a ſtate of Slavery.—Preliminary Obſervations.—Origin of the Slave Trade.—Portugueſe Settlements on the African Coaſt.—Negroes introduced into Hiſpaniola in 1502, *and the Slave Trade revived at the inſtance of Barth. de las Caſas, in* 1517.—*Hawkins's Voyages to the Coaſt, in* 1562, 1563.—*African Company eſtabliſhed by James* I.—*Second charter in* 1631 *by Charles* I.

—Third charter in 1662.—*Fourth charter in* 1672.—*Effect of the Petition and Declaration of Right in* 1688.—*Acts of the* 9*th and* 10*th of William and Mary, c.* 26.—*New Regulations in* 1750.—*Deſcription of the African Coaſt.—Forts and Factories.—Exports from Great Britain.—Number of Negroes tranſported annually to the Britiſh Colonies.—State of the Trade from* 1771 *to* 1787.—*Number of Negroes at this time exported annually by the different Nations of Europe.* Page 33

CHAP. III.

Mandingoes, or Natives of the Windward Coaſt.—Mahometans.—Their wars, manners, and perſons.—Koromantyn Negroes, or Natives of the Gold Coaſt.—Their ferociouſneſs of diſpoſition diſplayed by an account of the Negro rebellion in Jamaica in 1760.—*Their national manners, wars, and ſuperſtitions.—Natives of Whidah or Fida.—Their good qualities.—Nagoes.—Negroes from Benin.—Perſons and tempers.—Canibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and diſpoſitions of Negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery.* - - - 56

CHAP. IV.

Means of obtaining Slaves in Africa.—Obſervations thereon.—Objections to a direct and immediate abolition of the trade by the Britiſh Nation only.—The probable conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, both in Africa and the Weſt Indies, conſidered.—Diſproportions of ſexes in the number of Slaves annually exported from Africa.—Cauſes thereof.—Mode of tranſporting Negroes to the Weſt Indies, and

and regulations recently eſtabliſhed by act of parliament.—Effect of thoſe regulations. Page 93

CHAP. V.

Arrival and ſale in the Weſt Indies.—Negroes newly purchaſed, how diſpoſed of and employed.—Detail of the management of Negroes on a ſugar plantation.—Mode of maintaining them.—Houſes, clothing, and medical care.—Abuſes.—Late regulations for their protection and ſecurity.—Cauſes of their annual decreaſe.—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its mildeſt form unfriendly to population.—General obſervations.—Propoſals for the further meliorating the condition of the Slaves, with which the ſubject concludes. - 115

APPENDIX, No. I. *Conſolidated Slave Act of Jamaica* - - - 143

———, No. II. *Account of the number of ſhips, with their tonnage, which cleared from Great Britain to Africa, in each year, from* 1700, *together with the total exports to Africa in each year, during the ſame periods; diſtinguiſhing the value of the Britiſh, India, and Foreign goods; to which are added the quantity and value of each article from the year* 1782. — 190

BOOK V.

AGRICULTURE.

CHAP. I.

Sugar Cane.—Known to the ancients.—Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th century, and from thence to the Weſt Indies.—Evidence to prove that Columbus himſelf carried it from the Canary Iſlands to Hiſpaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reaſoning to demonſtrate that it was found growing ſpontaneouſly in the Weſt Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and deſcription.—Soils beſt adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties, deſcribed.—Uſe and advantage of the plough.—Uſual method of holing and planting.—Seaſon proper for planting.—Blaſt.—Manures.—Improvements ſuggeſted.

Page 195

CHAP. II.

Crop-time the ſeaſon of health and feſtivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Proceſs for obtaining raw or muſcovado ſugar.—Melaſſes, and its diſpoſal.—Proceſs of making clayed ſugar.—Of rum.—Still-houſes and ſtills.—Ciſterns and their ingredients.—Windward Iſland proceſs.—Jamaica method of double diſtillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of ſweets, aſcertained and ſtated. - - - 216

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Capital neceſſary in the ſettlement or purchaſe of a ſugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and ſtock ſeparately conſidered.—Particulars and coſt.—Groſs returns from the property.—Annual diſburſements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Difference, not commonly attended to, in the mode of eſtimating the profits of an Engliſh eſtate, and one in the Weſt Indies.—Inſurance of Weſt India eſtates in time of war, and other occaſional deductions.—The queſtion, why the cultivation of the Sugar Iſlands has encreaſed, under ſo many diſcouragements, conſidered and diſcuſſed. - - - - Page 238

CHAP. IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities, viz. COTTON, *its growth and various ſpecies.—Mode of cultivation, and riſques attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.—*INDIGO, *its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the firſt Indigo planters in Jamaica, and reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that iſland.—*COFFEE, *whether that of the Weſt Indies equal to the* Mocha *?—Situation and ſoil.—Exorbitant duty to which it was ſubject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Eſtimate of the annual expences and returns of a Coffee plantation.—*CACAO, GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES *and* PIMENTO; *brief account of each.* 257

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAP. I.

Colonial Eſtabliſhments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges.—Some Reflections on the uſual Choice of Perſons for this high Office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and Preſident.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legiſlature.—Its Neceſſity, Propriety, and Legality conſidered.—Some Corrections in the Conſtitution of this Body propoſed. - - - Page 301

CHAP. II.

Houſes of Aſſembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of eſtabliſhing in the Colonies Conſtitutions leſs free than that of Great Britain.—Moſt of the Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands ſettled by Emigrants from the Mother Country.—Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and ſome other Iſlands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legiſlatures how conſtituted, and the Extent of their Juriſdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependance on, the Crown of Great Britain, how ſecured.—Conſtitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them. 322

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Principles on which the Nations of Europe ſettled Colonies in America.—Commercial regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admiſſion of foreign-built Veſſels eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Iſlands, and their Value.—The ſame from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the Weſt Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of Britiſh Capital veſted in the Sugar Iſlands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Obſervations. - - Page 349

CHAP. IV.

Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their Value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages reſulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Meaſures adopted by Government on the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the Weſt Indies.—Oppoſition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Shipbuilders at Home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final Opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Deſtruction of Negroes in the Weſt Indies in conſequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Preſent State and Value of the Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and the remaining Britiſh Provinces in America.—The ſame with the United States of America.—Inference from the Whole. - - 376

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Charges brought againſt the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Deſign of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the Britiſh Plantations was improvident and unwiſe.—Teſtimony of the Inſpector General on this Subject, and Animadverſions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a diſtinct Intereſt between Great Britain and her Sugar Iſlands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals ariſing from thoſe Iſlands conſidered ſeparately.—Opinions of Poſtlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on Weſt Indian Commodities imported fall on the Conſumer, and in what Caſes?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of thoſe Terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonſtrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Reſtrictions on the Coloniſts enumerated; and the Benefits reſulting therefrom to the Mother Country pointed out and illuſtrated.—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the Weſt Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the Britiſh Conſumption.—Unjuſt Clamours raiſed in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the Weſt Indian Staples.—Project of eſtabliſhing Sugar Plantations in the Eaſt Indies under the Protection of Government conſidered.—Remonſtrance which might be offered againſt this and other Meaſures.—Concluſion. - Page 409

APPENDIX.—Report of a Committee of the Aſſembly of Jamaica. - - - 463

Tables of Weſt Indian Exports and Imports to and from Great Britain and Ireland. - 477

THE

THE

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OF THE

Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies.

BOOK IV.

PRESENT INHABITANTS.

CHAP. I.

Summary account of the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Iſlands.—Claſſes.—Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland.—Predominant character of the European reſidents.—Creoles or Natives.—Effect of climate.—Character of the Creole Women and Children.—Of the people of Colour, and their different tribes or caſts.—Limitations and reſtrictions on the Mulattoes and native Blacks of free condition.—Their character at length, concluding with an Ode to the Sable Venus.

THE preſent ſtate of the population in the Britiſh Weſt Indies appears, on a ſummary of the ſeveral accounts given in a former part of this work, to be as follows, viz. CHAP. I.

BOOK IV.

	Whites.		Blacks.
Jamaica - -	30,000	—	250,000
Barbadoes - -	16,167	—	62,115
Grenada - -	1,000	—	23,926
St. Vincent - -	1,450	—	11,853
Dominica - -	1,236	—	14,967
Antigua - - -	2,590	—	37,808
Montſerat - -	1,300	—	10,000
Nevis - - -	1,000	—	8,420
St. Chriſtopher's	1,900	—	20,435
Virgin Iſles - -	1,200	—	9,000
Bahamas - -	2,000	—	2,241
Bermudas - -	5,462	—	4,919
Total - -	65,305	—	455,684

There is likewiſe, in each of the Iſlands, a conſiderable number of perſons, of mixed blood, and Native Blacks, of free condition. In Jamaica they are reckoned, as we have ſhewn, at 10,000; and I have reaſon to believe they do not fall ſhort of the ſame number in all the other Iſlands collectively taken. The whole inhabitants therefore may properly be divided into four great claſſes.—1. European Whites; 2. Creole or Native Whites; 3. Creoles of mixed blood, and free Native Blacks; 4. Negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery. I ſhall treat of each claſs ſeparately; premiſing, however, that there are perſons not comprehended in either claſs; ſuch as emigrants from North America, and a conſiderable body of Jews. In Jamaica, the latter enjoy almoſt every privilege poſſeſſed by the Chriſtian Whites, excepting only the right of voting at elections, of being returned to ſerve in the aſſembly, and of holding any office of magiſtracy; but they have the liberty of purchaſing and holding lands, as freely as any other people; and they are likewiſe allowed the public exerciſe of

of their religion; for which purpoſe they have erected two or more ſynagogues; and I have not heard that Jamaica has had any reaſon to repent of her liberality towards them. As, however, they differ but little in manners and cuſtoms from the reſt of their nation which are diſperſed in all the countries of Europe, I ſhall paſs them by, without further detail. The other White Inhabitants, not comprehended in this enumeration, are too few to merit particular notice *. CHAP. I.

It may reaſonably be ſuppoſed that moſt of the natives of Europe who emigrate to the Weſt Indies, remove thither in the hopes of receiving greater encouragement to their abilities and induſtry than has offered at home. Yet let it not be imagined that the major, or even any conſiderable part of them, are deſperate and needy adventurers, who ſeek refuge from a priſon, or expatriate themſelves in the fond idea of living luxurioufly without labour. Theſe Iſlands give but little countenance to idleneſs, nor offer any aſylum to

* The following account of the White Inhabitants, Free-Negroes, and Slaves, in the French Weſt Indies, may ſerve to gratify curioſity. It is taken from the authority of Monſ. Neckar; but I have reaſon to think that the Negro Slaves are nearly doubled in the French Iſlands ſince this account was taken.

	Whites.	Free Blacks, &c.	Slaves.
St. Domingo, in 1779	32,650	7,055	249,098
Martinico, in 1776	11,619	2,892	71,268
Guadaloupe, in 1779	13,261	1,382	85,327
St. Lucia, in 1776	2,397	1,050	10,752
Tobago, ſuppoſed to be nearly the ſame as St. Lucia	2,397	1,050	10,752
Cayenne, in 1780	1,358	—	10,539
	63,682	13,429	437,736

vagabonds

BOOK IV. vagabonds and fugitives. Many of the Britiſh Colonies were originally compoſed of men who ſought, in the wilderneſſes of the New World, the peaceable enjoyment of thoſe natural or ſuppoſed rights of which they were deprived by the hand of violence and oppreſſion in their native country. I extend this deſcription to perſons of oppoſite political ſentiments and connections, to loyaliſts as well as republicans; for it is to be hoped that ſome of each party were men whoſe principles were honeſt, though their conduct might have been wrong. The advocates of loyalty ſought refuge chiefly in Barbadoes, and many of the adherents of Cromwell, after the reſtoration of Charles II. found protection in Jamaica *. At preſent, among the numbers whom accident or choice conducts to the Britiſh Weſt Indies, the juniors in the learned profeſſions of law, phyſic and divinity, conſtitute no inconſiderable body. Theſe men ought to be, and, generally ſpeaking, really are, perſons of education and morals. Few places afford greater encouragement to the firſt and ſecond of theſe employments; and, as ability is foſtered and called forth by exerciſe, no part of the Britiſh dominions has, in my opinion, produced abler men in either (in proportion to their number) than theſe iſlands. Local prejudice, and bigotry towards great names, may perhaps incline ſome perſons to diſpute this aſſertion; but, prejudice and bigotry apart, it will be found, I believe, that Nature has diſtributed the gifts of genius more equally and generally than is commonly imagined. It is cultivation and favor that ripen

* Among theſe was Thomas Scott (ſon of the perſon of that name who ſat as one of the judges on the trial of Charles I.) from whoſe daughter was deſcended the late Alderman Beckford of Fonthill, and by the mother's ſide the preſent Earl of Effingham.

and

and bring them to perfection. The Britiſh Navy and Army likewiſe contribute conſiderably to the augmentation of the White Inhabitants. Individuals in both theſe profeſſions, either from the inducement of agreeable connections, which it would be ſtrange if many of them did not form, in a long reſidence in theſe countries, or captivated by the new proſpects which open to their contemplation, very frequently quit the buſineſs of arms, and the dangers of a tempeſtuous element, and become peaceful citizens and induſtrious planters. Next to theſe may be reckoned the mercantile part of the inhabitants, ſuch as factors, ſtore-keepers, book-keepers, and clerks; who are followed by tradeſmen and artificers of various kinds, ſuch as millwrights, carpenters, maſons, copperſmiths, and others; moſt of whom, either through accident or neceſſity, after ſome years reſidence, become adventurers in the ſoil. Then come the huſbandmen, or cultivators of the land, profeſſedly ſuch; who are commonly diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of managers, overſeers, and plantation book-keepers; and they conſtitute a numerous body of people, compoſed of men of all countries and characters; for, unfortunately, every enterpriſing genius, who has either learnt no particular trade, or has been brought up to one which is uſeleſs in theſe regions, fancies himſelf capable of ſpeedily acquiring all the various knowledge of the ſugar planter, and the right management and government of his fellow creatures, the Negroes; though in truth a more weighty charge in itſelf, and more important in its conſequences, can ſcarcely fall to the lot of man. CHAP. I.

I have, in a former place, aſſigned the cauſes to which it is partly aſcribable that emigrants from various parts of the mother country, ſucceſſively conſtitute

BOOK IV.

conſtitute the bulk of the ſugar coloniſts; of whom it is certain that the major part retain, in a conſiderable degree, the manners and habits of life in which they were educated. Yet there are authors who affect to deſcribe the inhabitants of all the Weſt Indies, as a herd of criminals and convicts; and cite the ſtale crimes and violences of lawleſs men, a century ago, when theſe iſlands were the rendezvous of pirates and buccaniers, as a juſt repreſentation of the reigning colonial habits, manners, and diſpoſitions!

Calumnies ſo groſs, defeat themſelves by their abſurdity;—but although it is in the higheſt degree ridiculous to imagine that a voyage acroſs the Atlantic creates any ſudden or radical change in the human mind, yet, notwithſtanding what has been juſt obſerved concerning local manners and habits in the different claſſes of European ſettlers, it cannot be denied that there prevails beſides, ſomething of a marked and predominant character common to all the White reſidents.

Of this character it appears to me that the leading feature is an independent ſpirit, and a diſplay of conſcious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The pooreſt White perſon ſeems to conſider himſelf nearly on a level with the richeſt, and, emboldened by this idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is ſeldom diſplayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their ſuperiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It ariſes, without doubt, from the pre-eminence and diſtinction which are neceſſarily attached even to the complexion of a White Man, in a country where the complexion, generally ſpeaking, diſtinguiſhes freedom from ſlavery. Of the two great claſſes of people in moſt of theſe colonies, the Blacks outnumber the Whites in the

proportion

proportion of ſeven to one. As a ſenſe of common ſafety therefore unites the latter in cloſer ties than are neceſſary among men who are differently ſituated, ſo the ſame circumſtance neceſſarily gives birth among them to reciprocal dependance and reſpect. Other cauſes contribute to the ſame end. "Where ſlavery" (ſays a great writer) "is eſtabliſhed in any part of the world, thoſe who are "free, are by far the moſt proud and jealous of "their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an "enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. "Not ſeeing there, that freedom, as in countries "where it is a common bleſſing, may be united "with much abject toil, with great miſery, with "all the exterior of ſervitude, liberty looks among "them like ſomething that is more noble and liberal. Thus the people of the Southern Colonies (of America) are much more ſtrongly, and "with a higher and more ſtubborn ſpirit, attached "to liberty, than thoſe to the Northward. Such "were all the ancient commonwealths; ſuch were "our Gothic anceſtors; ſuch in our days are the "Poles; and ſuch will be all maſters of ſlaves, "who are not ſlaves themſelves *." CHAP. I.

Poſſibly too, the climate itſelf, by increaſing ſenſibility, contributes to create an impatience of ſubordination. But, whatever may be the cauſe of this conſciouſneſs of ſelf-importance in the Weſt Indian character, the conſequences reſulting from it are, on the whole, beneficial. If it ſometimes produces an oſtentatious pride, and a ridiculous affectation of ſplendour, it more frequently awakens the laudable propenſities of our nature —frankneſs, ſociability, benevolence, and generoſity. In no part of the globe is the virtue of hoſpitality more generally prevalent, than in the

* Burke's Speech in Parliament, 22d of March, 1775.

Britiſh

BOOK IV.

Britiſh Sugar Iſlands. The gates of the planter are always open to the reception of his gueſts.—To be a ſtranger is of itſelf a ſufficient introduction. This ſpecies of hoſpitality is indeed carried ſo far, that, as Mr. Long has remarked, there is not one tolerable inn throughout all the Weſt Indies *.

To the ſame cauſe may perhaps be aſcribed, on the other hand, that eagerneſs for litigation and juridical controverſy, which ſo remarkably predominates in moſt of theſe Iſlands. From this unfortunate paſſion, ruinous as it frequently proves to individuals, this advantage however reſults to the community at large; that the lower orders of

* There are ſome peculiarities in the habits of life of the White Inhabitants which cannot fail to catch the eye of an European newly arrived; one of which is the contraſt between the general plenty and magnificence of their tables (at leaſt in Jamaica) and the meanneſs of their houſes and apartments; it being no uncommon thing to find, at the country habitations of the planters, a ſplendid ſideboard loaded with plate, and the choiceſt wines, a table covered with the fineſt damaſk, and a dinner of perhaps ſixteen or twenty covers; and all this, in a hovel not ſuperior to an Engliſh barn. A ſtranger cannot fail alſo to obſerve a ſtrange incongruity and inconſiſtency between the great number of Negro domeſtics, and their appearance and apparel. The butler (and he but ſeldom) is the only attendant that is allowed the luxury of ſhoes and ſtockings. All the others, and there is commonly one to each gueſt, wait at table in *bare-footed majeſty*; ſome of them perhaps half naked. Another peculiarity in the manners of the Engliſh in the Weſt Indies (in Jamaica eſpecially) is the number of nautical expreſſions in their converſation. Thus they ſay, *hand ſuch a thing*, inſtead of bring or give it. A plantation well ſtocked with Negroes, is ſaid to be *well handed*: an office or employment is called *a birth*; the kitchen is denominated the *cook-room*; a warehouſe is called a *ſtore*, or *ſtore-room*: a ſopha is called *a cot*; a waiſtcoat is termed *a jacket*; and in ſpeaking of the Eaſt and Weſt, they ſay to *windward* and *leeward*. This language has probably prevailed ſince the days of the buccaniers.

men,

men, from their frequent attendance on the courts of law, acquire a degree of knowledge, and a clearneſs and preciſion of reaſoning, which are not generally to be found in men of the ſame rank in England. Thus the petty juries in the Weſt Indies are commonly far more intelligent and reſpectable than thoſe in Great Britain. Every candid perſon, who has attended the courts of criminal juriſdiction in both countries, muſt confirm this obſervation. CHAP. I.

But, it is to the Creoles or Natives, that we muſt look for the original or peculiar caſt of character impreſſed by the climate, if indeed the influence of climate be ſuch as many writers imagine. For my own part, I am of opinion that the climate of the Weſt Indies diſplays itſelf more ſtrongly on the perſons of the Natives, than on their manners, or on the faculties of their minds. They are obviouſly a taller race, on the whole, than the Europeans; but I think in general not proportionably robuſt. I have known ſeveral who were full ſix feet four inches in height; but they wanted bulk, to meet our ideas of maſculine beauty. All of them, however, are diſtinguiſhed for the freedom and ſuppleneſs of their joints; which enable them to move with great eaſe and and agility, as well as gracefulneſs, in dancing. From the ſame cauſe they excel in penmanſhip, and the uſe of the ſmall ſword. It has been truly obſerved, that the effect of climate is likewiſe obvious in the ſtructure of the eye, the ſocket being conſiderably deeper than among the natives of Europe. By this conformation, they are guarded from thoſe ill effects which an almoſt continual ſtrong glare of ſun-ſhine might otherwiſe produce; and it is a curious circumſtance, that their ſkin feels conſiderably colder than that of a European; a proof, I think, that nature has contrived ſome peculiar means of protecting them from the heat, which

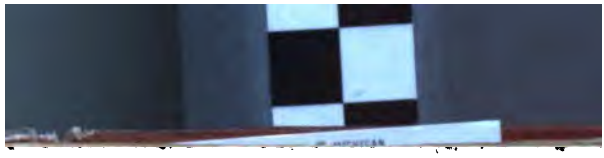
BOOK IV.

which ſhe has denied to the nations of temperate regions, as unneceſſary. Accordingly, though their mode of living differs in no reſpect from that of the European reſidents, they are rarely obnoxious to thoſe inflammatory diſorders which frequently prove fatal to the latter.

The ladies of theſe Iſlands have indeed greater cauſe to boaſt of this fortunate exemption, than the men; a pre-eminence undoubtedly acquired by the calm and even tenour of their lives, and by an habitual temperance and ſelf-denial. Except the exerciſe of dancing, in which they delight and excel, they have no amuſement or avocation to impel them to much exertion of either body or mind. Thoſe midnight aſſemblies and gambling conventions, wherein health, fortune, and beauty, are ſo frequently ſacrificed in the cities of Europe, are here happily unknown. In their diet, the Creole women are, I think, abſtemious even to a fault. Simple water, or lemonade, is the ſtrongeſt beverage in which they indulge; and a vegetable meſs at noon, ſeaſoned with cayenne pepper, conſtitutes their principal repaſt. The effect of this mode of life, in a hot and oppreſſive atmoſphere, is a lax fibre, and a complexion in which the lily predominates rather than the roſe. To a ſtranger newly arrived, the ladies appear as juſt riſen from the bed of ſickneſs.—Their voice is ſoft and ſpiritleſs, and every ſtep betrays languor and laſſitude. With the fineſt perſons, they certainly want that glow of health in the countenance, that delicious crimſon *(lumen purpureum juventi)* which, in colder countries, enlivens the coarſeſt ſet of features, and renders a beautiful one irreſiſtible.

> Youth's orient bloom, the bluſh of chaſte deſire,
> The ſprightly converſe, and the ſmile divine,
> (Love's gentler train) to milder climes retire,
> And full in Albion's matchleſs daughters ſhine.

In



In *one* of the principal features of beauty, however, few ladies ſurpaſs the Creoles; for they have, in general, the fineſt eyes in the world; large, languiſhing, and expreſſive; ſometimes beaming with animation, and ſometimes melting with tenderneſs; a ſure index to that native goodneſs of heart and gentleneſs of diſpoſition for which they are eminently and deſervedly applauded, and to which, combined with their ſyſtem of life and manners (ſequeſtered, domeſtic, and unobtruſive) it is doubtleſs owing, that no women on earth make better wives, or better mothers *.

Perhaps, the circumſtance moſt diſtinguiſhable in the character of the Natives to which the climate ſeems to contribute, is the early diſplay of the mental powers in young children; whoſe quick perception, and rapid advances in knowledge, exceed thoſe of European infants of the ſame age, in a degree that is perfectly unaccountable and aſtoniſhing. This circumſtance is indeed too ſtriking to have eſcaped the notice of any one writer who has viſited the tropical parts of America; and the fact being too well eſtabliſhed to be denied, the philoſophers of Europe have conſoled themſelves with an idea that, as the genius of the young Weſt Indians attains ſooner to maturity, it declines more rapidly than that of Europeans. Nature is ſuppoſed to act in this caſe in a manner analogous to her operations in the vegetable kingdom, where the trees that come ſooneſt to perfection, are at the ſame time leſs firm and durable than thoſe which require more time for the completion of their growth. It is indeed certain, that

* The Creole ladies are noted for very fine teeth, which they preſerve and keep beautifully white by a conſtant uſe of the juice of a withe called the Chewſtick; a ſpecies of *rhamnus*. It is cut into ſmall pieces, and uſed as a tooth-bruſh. The juice is a ſtrong bitter, and a powerful detergent.

the

BOOK IV. the ſubſequent acquirements of the mind in the Natives, do not always keep pace with its early progreſs; but the chief cauſe (as Ulloa hath obſerved) of the ſhort duration of ſuch promiſing beginnings, ſeems to be the want of proper objects for exerciſing the faculties. The propenſity alſo, which the climate undoubtedly encourages, to early and habitual licentiouſneſs, induces a turn of mind and diſpoſition unfriendly to mental improvement. Among ſuch of the Natives as have happily eſcaped the contagion and enervating effects of youthful exceſſes, men are found of capacities as ſtrong and permanent, as among any people whatever.

As I cannot therefore admit that the Creôles in general poſſeſs leſs capacity and ſtability of mind than the natives of Europe, much leſs can I allow that they fall ſhort of them in thoſe qualities of the heart which render man a bleſſing to all around him. Generoſity to each other, and a high degree of compaſſion and kindneſs towards their inferiors and dependents, diſtinguiſh the Creoles in a very honourable manner *. If they are proud, their pride is allied to no meanneſs. Inſtructed from their infancy to entertain a very high opinion of their own conſequence, they are cautious of doing any act which may leſſen the conſciouſneſs of their proper dignity. From the ſame cauſe they ſcorn every ſpecies of concealment. They have a frankneſs of diſpoſition beyond any people on earth. Their confidence is unlimited and entire. Superior to falſehood themſelves, they ſuſpect it not in others.

" * Adventurers from Europe are univerſally more cruel " and moroſe towards the Slaves than the Creoles or Native " Weſt Indians."

Ramſay, Eſſay on the Treatment and Converſion of the Slaves, &c.

How

How far this nobleneſs of diſpoſition may be aſcribed to the influence of a genial climate, and how far to education and example, I preſume not to diſcriminate. The effects of heat on the body are ſufficiently viſible; but perhaps Philoſophers have relied too much on a ſuppoſed ſympathy between the body and mind. "The natives of hot "climates (ſays one writer) are ſlothful and timid;" but timidity is by no means the neceſſary conſequence of indolence. The mind may require great force to rouſe it to due exertion; but, being properly urged may diſplay qualities very oppoſite to thoſe of a timid diſpoſition. At leaſt, timidity conſtitutes no part of the character of the Natives of the Britiſh Weſt Indies. Indolence, I will admit, is too predominant among them; but that they are deficient in perſonal courage, no man, who has the ſmalleſt acquaintance with them, will allow for a moment. Even the indolence of which they are accuſed, is rather an averſion to ſerious thought and deep reflection, than a ſlothfulneſs and ſluggiſhneſs of nature. Both ſexes, when the ſprings of the mind are once ſet in motion, are remarkable for a warm imagination and a high flow of ſpirits. There ſeems indeed univerſally to reign among them a promptitude for pleaſure. This effect has been aſcribed, and perhaps juſtly, to the levity of the atmoſphere *. To the ſame cauſe is commonly imputed the propenſity obſervable in moſt of the Weſt Indians to indulge extravagant ideas of their riches; to view their circumſtances through a magnifying medium, and to feaſt their fancies on what another year will effect. This anticipation of imaginary wealth is ſo prevalent as to become juſtly ridiculous; yet I am inclined to think it is a propenſity that exiſts inde-

* Moſely on the Climate of the Weſt Indies.

pendent

BOOK IV.

pendent of the climate and atmoſphere, and that it ariſes principally from the peculiar ſituation of the Weſt Indian Planters as land-holders. Not having, like the proprietors of landed eſtates in Great Britain, frequent opportunities of letting their plantations to ſubſtantial tenants, they are, for the moſt part, compelled to become practical farmers on their own lands, of which the returns are, in the higheſt degree, fluctuating and uncertain. Under theſe circumſtances a Weſt Indian property is a ſpecies of lottery. As ſuch, it gives birth to a ſpirit of adventure and enterpriſe, and awakens extravagant hopes and expectations;—too frequently terminating in perplexity and diſappointment.

Such are the few obſervations which I have noted concerning the character, diſpoſition, and manners of the White inhabitants of theſe iſlands; I proceed now to perſons of mixed blood (uſually termed *People of Colour*) and Native Blacks of free condition. Of the former, all the different claſſes, or varieties, are not eaſily diſcriminated. In the Britiſh Weſt Indies they are commonly known by the names of *Samboes*, *Mulattoes*, *Quadroons*, and *Meſtizos* *; but the Spaniards, from whom theſe appellations are borrowed, have many other and much nicer diſtinctions, of which the following account is given by Don Anthonio De Ulloa, in his deſcription of the inhabitants of Carthagena:

* A *Sambo* is the offspring of a Black Woman by a Mulatto Man, or *vice verſa*.
Mulatto — of a Black Woman by a White Man.
Quadroon — of a Mulatto Woman by a White Man.
Meſtize or Muſtee of a Quadroon Woman by a White Man.
The offspring of a Meſtize by a White Man are white by law. A Meſtize therefore in our iſlands is, I ſuppoſe, the *Quinteron* of the Spaniards.

"Among

" Among the tribes which are derived from an intermixture of the Whites with the Negroes, the firſt are the *Mulattos*; next to theſe are the *Tercerons*, produced from a White and a Mulatto, with ſome approximation to the former, but not ſo near as to obliterate their origin. After theſe follow the *Quarterons*, proceeding from a White and a Terceron. The laſt are the *Quinterons*, who owe their origin to a White and Quarteron. This is the laſt gradation, there being no viſible difference between them and the Whites, either in colour or features; nay, they are often fairer than the Spaniards. The children of a White and Quinteron conſider themſelves as free from all taint of the Negroe race. Every perſon is ſo jealous of the order of their tribe or caſt, that if, through inadvertence, you call them by a degree lower than what they actually are, they are highly offended. Before they attain the claſs of the *Quinterons*, there are ſeveral intervening circumſtances which throw them back; for between the Mulatto and the Negro, there is an intermediate race, which they call *Sambos*, owing their origin to a mixture between one of theſe with an Indian, or among themſelves. Betwixt the Tercerones and Mulattoes, the Quarterones and the Tercerones, &c. are thoſe called *Tente en el Ayre, Suſpended in the air;* becauſe they neither advance nor recede. Children whoſe parents are a Quarteron or Quinteron, and a Mulatto or Terceron, are *Salto altras retrogrades;* becauſe, inſtead of advancing towards being Whites, they have gone backwards towards the Negro race. The children between a Negro and a Quinteron, are called Sambos de Negroe, de Mulatto, de Terceron, &c."

In Jamaica, and I believe in the reſt of our Sugar Iſlands, the deſcendants of Negroes by White

BOOK IV.

people, entitled by birth to all the rights and liberties of White ſubjects in the full extent, are ſuch as are above three ſteps removed in lineal digreſſion from the Negro venter. All below this, whether called in common parlance Meſtizes, Quadrons, or Mulattoes, are deemed by law Mulattoes.

Anciently there was a diſtinction in Jamaica between ſuch of thoſe people as were born of freed mothers (the maxim of the civil law, *partus ſequitur ventrem*, prevailing in all our colonies) and ſuch as had been immediately releaſed from ſlavery by deed or will of their owners. While the former were allowed a trial by jury in criminal caſes, the latter were tried in the ſame way as the common ſlaves, by two juſtices and three freeholders. Neither were the latter admitted as evidences againſt free born perſons until the year 1748, when an act was paſſed in their favour, putting both claſſes on the ſame footing.

In all other reſpects, the legal capacities which they poſſeſſed, were very imperfectly defined: The Mulattoes were allowed no other privilege than the freed Negroes, concerning whom (few of them being baptized, or ſuppoſed to be ſenſible of the nature of an oath) the courts of law interpreted the act of manumiſſion by the owner, as nothing more than an abandonment or releaſe of his own proper authority over the perſon of the ſlave, which did not, and could not, convey to the object of his bounty, the civil and political rights of a natural born ſubject; and the ſame principle was applied to the iſſue of freed mothers, until after the third generation from the Negro anceſtor.

The principal incapacities to which theſe people are now ſubject, as diſtinct from the Whites, are theſe.

Firſt,

CHAP. I.

Firſt, By the laws of Jamaica, their evidence is not received in criminal caſes againſt a White perſon, nor even againſt a perſon of Colour, in whoſe favour a particular act has been paſſed by the legiſlature. In this reſpect they ſeem to be placed on a worſe footing than the enſlaved Negroes, who have maſters that are intereſted in their protection, and who, if their ſlaves are maltreated, have a right to recover damages, by an action on the caſe.

Secondly, They are denied the privilege (I believe in all the Britiſh colonies) of being eligible to ſerve in parochial veſtries and general aſſemblies; or of acting in any office of public truſt, even ſo low as that of a conſtable; neither are they permitted to hold commiſſions even in the Black and Mulatto companies of militia. They are precluded alſo from voting at elections of members to ſerve in the aſſembly. It may be urged however that the laws of England require baptiſm, and a certain degree of property, in ſimilar caſes.

Thirdly, By an act of the aſſembly of Jamaica, paſſed in the year 1762, it is enacted, that a teſtamentary deviſe from a White perſon to a Negro or Mulatto, not born in wedlock, of real or perſonal eſtate, exceeding in value £.2,000 currency, ſhall be void, and the property deſcend to the heir at law.

As ſome counterbalance however to theſe reſtrictions, the aſſembly, on proper application, is readily enough inclined to paſs private acts, granting the privileges of White people, with ſome limitations, to ſuch perſons of Colour as have been regularly baptized, and properly educated. On the ſame ground, private bills are ſometimes paſſed to authorize gentlemen of fortune, under particular circumſtances, to deviſe their eſtates to

BOOK IV.

their reputed Mulatto children, notwithſtanding the act of 1762.

But there is this miſchief ariſing from the ſyſtem of rigour oſtenſibly maintained by the laws againſt this unfortunate race of people; that it tends to degrade them in their own eyes, and in the eyes of the community to which they belong. This is carried ſo far, as to make them at once wretched to themſelves, and uſeleſs to the public. It very frequently happens that the loweſt White perſon, conſidering himſelf as greatly ſuperior to the richeſt and beſt-educated Free man of Colour, will diſdain to aſſociate with a perſon of the latter deſcription, treating him as the Egyptians treated the Iſraelites, with whom they held it *an abomination to eat bread.* To this evil, ariſing from public opinion, no partial interpoſition of the legiſlature in favour of individuals, affords an effectual remedy; and the conſequence is, that inſtead of a benefit, theſe unhappy people are a burthen and a reproach to ſociety. They have no motives of ſufficient efficacy either to engage them in the ſervice of their country, or in profitable labour for their own advantage. Their progreſs in civility and knowledge is animated by no encouragement; their attachment is received without approbation; and their diligence exerted without reward *.

I am

* It would ſurely be a wiſe and humane law that ſhould grant to every free Negro and Mulatto, the right of being a competent witneſs in all criminal caſes, and more eſpecially in thoſe of perſonal injury to himſelf.—Perhaps indeed it might be proper to require of ſuch perſons the proof of baptiſm, and the ability to read and write; and I think that ſome uſeful regulations might be made to apportion greater privileges to the coloured people according to their approximation to the Whites; a ſyſtem which would not ſerve to confound, but to keep

I am happy however that I can aſſert with truth, that their fidelity and loyalty have hitherto remained unimpeached and unſuſpected. To the Negroes they are objects of envy and hatred; for the ſame or a greater degree of ſuperiority which the Whites aſſume over *them*, the free Mulattoes lay claim to over the Blacks. Theſe, again, abhor the idea of being ſlaves to the deſcendants of ſlaves. Thus circumſtanced, the general character of the Mulattoes is ſtrongly marked by the peculiarity of their ſituation; and I cannot but think that they are, on the whole, objects of favour and compaſſion. CHAP. I.

In their deportment towards the White people they are humble, ſubmiſſive, and unaſſuming. Their ſpirits ſeem to ſink under the conſciouſneſs of their condition. They are accuſed however of proving bad maſters when inveſted with power; and their conduct towards their ſlaves is ſaid to be, in a high degree, harſh and imperious. I ſuſpect there is ſome truth in this repreſentation; for it is the general characteriſtic of human nature, that men whoſe authority is moſt liable to be diſputed, are the moſt jealous of any infringement of it, and the moſt vigilant in its ſupport.

The accuſation moſt generally brought againſt the free people of Colour, is the incontinency

keep up and render uſeful thoſe diſtinctions which local cauſes have created, and which it is not in the power of man to aboliſh. To the Quadrons and Meſtizes for inſtance (who poſſeſs the neceſſary qualification in *real* property) I would grant the right of voting for repreſentatives in the aſſembly. Such a privilege would give them an intereſt in the community, and attach them powerfully to its government. In favour of ſuch perſons alſo, the act of 1762 might be modified. Whether it would be wiſe to repeal it altogether, is a deep and difficult queſtion. Men who are unacquainted with local manners and cuſtoms, are not competent to pronounce an opinion in this caſe.

of

BOOK IV.

of their women; of whom, ſuch as are young, and have tolerable perſons, are univerſally maintained by White men of all ranks and conditions, as kept miſtreſſes. The fact is too notorious to be concealed or controverted; and I truſt I have too great an eſteem for my fair readers, and too high a reſpect for myſelf, to ſtand forth the advocate of licentiouſneſs and debauchery. Undoubtedly, the conduct of many of the Whites in this reſpect, is a violation of all decency and decorum; and an inſult and injury to ſociety. Let it not offend any modeſt ear, however, if I add my opinion, that the unhappy females here ſpoken of, are much leſs deſerving reproach and reprehenſion than their keepers. I ſay this, from conſidering their education and condition in life; for ſuch are the unfortunate circumſtances of their birth, that not one in fifty of them is taught to write or read. Profitable inſtruction therefore, from thoſe who are capable of giving it, is withheld from them; and unhappily, the young men of their own complexion, are in too low a ſtate of degradation, to think of matrimony. On the other hand, no White man of decent appearance, unleſs urged by the temptation of a conſiderable fortune, will condeſcend to give his hand in marriage to a Mulatto! The very idea is ſhocking. Thus, excluded as they are from all hope of ever arriving to the honour and happineſs of wedlock, inſenſible of its beauty and ſanctity; ignorant of all Chriſtian and moral obligations; threatened by poverty, urged by their paſſions, and encouraged by example, upon what principle can we expect theſe ill-fated women to act otherwiſe than they do?

Neither ſhould it be forgotten, at the ſame time, that very few of theſe poor females, in compariſon

compariſon of the whole, are guilty of that infamous ſpecies of profligacy and proſtitution, which flouriſhes, without principle or ſhame, and in the broad eye of day, throughout all the cities of Europe. In their dreſs and carriage they are modeſt, and in converſation reſerved; and they frequently manifeſt a fidelity and attachment towards their keepers, which if it be not virtue, is ſomething very like it. The terms and manner of their compliance therefore are commonly as decent, though perhaps not as ſolemn, as thoſe of marriage; and the agreement they conſider equally innocent; giving themſelves up to the huſband (for ſo he is called) with faith plighted, with ſentiment, and with affection.

That this ſyſtem ought to be utterly aboliſhed I moſt readily admit. Juſtice towards the many beautiful and virtuous young ladies reſident in theſe iſlands, cries aloud for a thorough reformation of manners! But by whom is ſuch a reform to be begun and accompliſhed? It can hardly be expected, I think, from the objects of our preſent enquiries, who are conſcious of no vices which their Chriſtian inſtructors have not taught them; and whoſe qualities (few and limited as they are) flow chiefly from their own native original character and diſpoſition.

Of thoſe qualities, the moſt ſtriking is tenderneſs of heart; a ſoftneſs or ſympathy of mind towards affliction and diſtreſs, which I conceive is ſeldom diſplayed in either extreme of proſperity or wretchedneſs. Thoſe who have never experienced any of the viciſſitudes and calamities of life, turn averſe from the contemplation of them; and thoſe again who are wretched themſelves, have no leiſure to attend to the ſufferings of others: but the benevolence of the poor people

BOOK IV.

ple of whom I treat, is not merely ſolitary and contemplative; it is an active principle, in which they may be ſaid particularly to excel; and I have the authority of a great writer before quoted (Don Anthonio De Ulloa) to ſupport me in this repreſentation. Speaking of their kindneſs to many poor Europeans, who, in the hopes of mending their fortunes, repair to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, where they are utterly unknown, he has the following account of ſuch of them as are called at Carthagena *Pulizones;* being, he ſays, men without employment, ſtock, or recommendation. "Many of theſe (he obſerves) after traverſing the ſtreets until they have nothing left to procure them lodging or food, are reduced to have recourſe to the laſt extremity, the Franciſcan hoſpital; where they receive, in a quantity barely ſufficient to preſerve life, a kind of pap made of caſſada, of which the Natives themſelves will not eat. This is their food; their lodging is the porticoes of the ſquares and churches, until their good fortune throws them in the way of ſome trader going up the country, who wants a ſervant. The city merchants, ſtanding in no need of them, diſcountenance theſe adventurers. Affected by the difference of the climate, aggravated by bad food, dejected and tortured by the entire diſappointment of their romantic hopes, they fall ſick; without any other ſuccour to apply to, than Divine Providence. Now it is that the charity of the people of Colour becomes conſpicuous. The Negro and Mulatto free women, moved at the deplorable condition of theſe poor wretches, carry them to their houſes, and nurſe them with the greateſt care and affection. If any one die, they bury him by the alms they procure, and even cauſe maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul."

I believe

I believe that no man, who is acquainted with the general conduct and diſpoſition of the ſame claſs of people in our own iſlands, will doubt that they would act as benevolently and humanely, under ſimilar circumſtances, as thoſe of Carthagena. Their tenderneſs, as nurſes, towards the ſick; their diſintereſted gratitude and attachment where favours are ſhewn them; and their peaceful deportment under a rigorous ſyſtem of laws, and the influence of manners ſtill more oppreſſive, afford great room to lament that a more enlightened and liberal policy is not adopted towards them. The enfranchiſement of ſuch as are enſlaved, Chriſtian inſtruction to the whole, and encouragement to their induſtry, would, in time, make them a uſeful and valuable claſs of citizens; induce them to intermarry with each other, and render their preſent relaxed and vicious ſyſtem of life, as odious in appearance, as it is baneful to ſociety *. CHAP. I.

* The Rev. Mr. Ramſay has enlarged on the ſame idea concerning theſe unfortunate people. "Children of Mulatto "women, he obſerves (meaning, I preſume, their children "by White men) ſhould be declared free from their birth. "Intendants ſhould be appointed to ſee them placed out in "time to ſuch trade or buſineſs as may beſt agree with their "inclination and demands of the colony: this ſhould be done "at the expence of their fathers, and a ſufficient ſum might "be depoſited in the hands of the churchwardens, ſoon after "their birth, to anſwer the purpoſe; the intendant keeping "the churchwardens to their duty. By theſe means the "number of free citizens would inſenſibly increaſe in the co-"lonies, and add to their ſecurity and ſtrength. A new "rank of citizens, placed beeween the Black and White "races would be eſtabliſhed. They would naturally attach "themſelves to the White race as the more honourable re-"lation, and ſo become a barrier againſt the deſigns of the "Black, &c." All this, however, is eaſily propoſed in theory, but, I am afraid, more difficult to adopt in practice than Mr. Ramſay was aware of.

Hitherto

BOOK IV.

Hitherto I have confined myſelf to thoſe people who, having ſome portion of Chriſtian blood in their veins, pride themſelves on that circumſtance, and to the conſcious value of which it is probable that ſome part of what is commendable in their conduct is owing. The free Blacks, not having the ſame advantage, have not the ſame emulation to excel. In truth, they differ but little from their brethren in bonds, whoſe manners, genius, and character, will be the ſubject of my next enquiries. I ſhall therefore conclude the preſent chapter by preſenting to my readers, a performance of a deceaſed friend, in which the character of the ſable and ſaffron beauties of the Weſt Indies, and the folly of their paramours, are pourtrayed with the delicacy and dexterity of wit, and the fancy and elegance of genuine poetry.

THE

CHAP. I.

THE

SABLE VENUS;

AN ODE.

(Written in Jamaica in 1765.)

Alba ligustra cadunt vaccinia nigra leguntur. VIRG.

I LONG had my gay lyre forſook,
But ſtrung it t'other day, and took
T'wards HELICON my way;
The muſes all, th' aſſembly grac'd,
The preſident himſelf was plac'd,
By chance 'twas concert-day.

ERATO ſmil'd to ſee me come;
Aſk'd why I ſtaid ſo much at home;
I own'd my conduct wrong;
But now the ſable queen of love,
Reſolv'd my gratitude to prove,
Had ſent me for a ſong.

The ladies look'd extremely ſhy,
APOLLO's ſmile was arch and ſly,
But not one word they ſaid;
I gaz'd,—ſure ſilence is conſent,—
I made my bow, away I went;
Was not my duty paid?

Come

BOOK IV.

Come to my boſom, genial fire,
Soft ſounds, and lively thoughts inſpire;
Unuſual is my theme:
Not ſuch diſſolving OVID ſung,
Nor melting SAPPHO's glowing tongue,—
More dainty mine I deem.

Sweet is the beam of morning bright,
Yet ſweet the ſober ſhade of night:
On rich ANGOLA's ſhores,
While beauty clad in ſable dye,
Enchanting fires the wond'ring eye,
Farewell, ye PAPHIAN bow'rs.

O ſable queen! thy mild domain
I ſeek, and court thy gentle reign,
So ſoothing, ſoft and ſweet;
Where meeting love, ſincere delight,
Fond pleaſure, ready joys invite,
And unbought raptures meet.

The prating FRANK, the SPANIARD proud,
The double SCOT, HIBERNIAN loud,
And ſullen ENGLISH own,
The pleaſing ſoftneſs of thy ſway,
And here, transferr'd allegiance pay,
For gracious is thy throne.

From Eaſt to Weſt, o'er either Ind'
Thy ſcepter ſways; thy pow'r we find
By both the tropics felt;
The blazing ſun that gilds the zone,
Waits but the triumphs of thy throne,
Quite round the burning belt.

When

When thou, this large domain to view,
JAMAICA's iſle, thy conqueſt new,
First left thy native ſhore,
Bright was the morn, and ſoft the breeze,
With wanton joy the curling ſeas
The beauteous burthen bore.

Of iv'ry was the car, inlaid
With ev'ry ſhell of lively ſhade;
The throne was burniſh'd gold;
The footſtool gay with coral beam'd,
The wheels with brighteſt amber gleam'd,
And gliſt'ring round they roll'd.

The peacock and the oſtrich ſpread
Their beauteous plumes, a trembling ſhade,
From noon-day's ſultry flame:
Sent by their ſire, the careful Eaſt,
The wanton breezes fann'd her breaſt,
And flutter'd round the dame.

The winged fiſh, in purple trace
The chariot drew; with eaſy grace
Their azure rein ſhe guides:
And now they fly, and now they ſwim;
Now o'er the wave they lightly ſkim,
Or dart beneath the tides.

Each bird that haunts the rock and bay,
Each ſcaly native of the ſea,
Came crowding o'er the main:
The dolphin ſhews his thouſand dyes,
The grampus his enormous ſize,
And gambol in her train.

Her

Her ſkin excell'd the raven plume,
Her breath the fragrant orange bloom,
Her eye the tropic beam:
Soft was her lip as ſilken down,
And mild her look as ev'ning ſun
That gilds the COBRE * ſtream.

The lovelieſt limbs her form compoſe,
Such as her ſiſter VENUS choſe,
In FLORENCE, where ſhe's ſeen;
Both juſt alike, except the white,
No difference, no—none at night,
The beauteous dames between.

With native eaſe ſerene ſhe ſat,
In elegance of charms compleat,
And every heart ſhe won:
Falſe dreſs deformity may ſhade,
True beauty courts no foreign aid:
Can tapers light the ſun?—

The pow'r that rules old ocean wide,
'Twas he, they ſay, had calm'd the tide,
Beheld the chariot roll:
Aſſum'd the figure of a tar,
The Captain of a man of war,
And told her all his ſoul.

She ſmil'd with kind conſenting eyes;—
Beauty was ever valour's prize;
He rais'd a murky cloud:
The tritons ſound, the ſirens ſing,
The dolphins dance, the billows ring,
And joy fills all the crowd.

* A river ſo called in Jamaica.

Bleſt

Bleſt offspring of the warm embrace!
Fond ruler of the criſped race!
Tho' ſtrong thy bow, dear boy,
Thy mingled ſhafts of black and white,
Are wing'd with feathers of delight,
Their points are tipt with joy.

But, when her ſtep had touch'd the ſtrand,
Wild rapture ſeiz'd the raviſh'd land,
From ev'ry part they came:
Each mountain, valley, plain, and grove
Haſte eagerly to ſhow their love;—
Right welcome was the dame.

PORT-ROYAL ſhouts were heard aloud,
Gay ST. IAGO ſent a crowd,
Grave KINGSTON not a few:
No rabble rout,—I heard it ſaid,
Some great ones join'd the cavalcade—
The muſe will not ſay who.

Gay Goddeſs of the ſable ſmile!
Propitious ſtill, this grateful iſle
With thy protection bleſs!
Here fix, ſecure, thy conſtant throne;
Where all, adoring thee, do ONE
ONE Deity confeſs.

For me, if I no longer own
Allegiance to the CYPRIAN throne,
I play no fickle part;
It were ingratitude to ſlight
Superior kindneſs; I delight
To feel a grateful heart.

Then

BOOK IV.

Then, playful goddeſs! ceaſe to change,
Nor in new beauties vainly range;
Tho' whatſoe'er thy view,
Try ev'ry form thou canſt put on,
I'll follow thee thro' ev'ry one;
So ſtaunch am I, ſo true.

Do thou in gentle PHEBBA ſmile,
In artful BENNEBA beguile,
In wanton MIMBA pout;
In ſprightly CUBA's eyes look gay,
Or grave in ſober QUASHEBA,
I ſtill ſhall find thee out.

Thus have I ſung; perhaps too gay
Such ſubject for ſuch time of day,
And fitter far for youth:
Should then the ſong too wanton ſeem,
You know who choſe th' unlucky theme,
Dear BRYAN, tell the truth.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Negroes in a ſtate of Slavery.—Preliminary Obſervations.—Origin of the Slave Trade.—Portugueſe Settlements on the African Coaſt.—Negroes introduced into Hiſpaniola in 1502, *and the Slave Trade revived at the inſtance of Barth. de las Caſas in* 1517.—*Hawkins's Voyages to the coaſt, in* 1562 *and* 1563.—*African Company eſtabliſhed by James* I.—*Second charter in* 1631 *by Charles* I.—*Third charter in* 1662.—*Fourth charter in* 1672.—*Effect of the Petition and Declaration of Right in* 1688.—*Acts of the* 9*th and* 10*th of William and Mary, c.* 26.—*New regulations in* 1750.—*Deſcription of the African Coaſt.*—*Forts and Factories.*—*Exports from Great Britain.*—*Number of Negroes tranſported annually to the Britiſh Colonies.*—*State of the Trade from* 1771 *to* 1787.—*Number of Negroes at this time exported annually by the different Nations of Europe.*

THE progreſs of my work has now brought me to the contemplation of human nature in its moſt debaſed and abject ſtate;—to the ſad proſpect of 450,000 reaſonable beings (in the Engliſh Iſlands only) in a ſtate of barbarity and ſlavery; of whom—I will not ſay the major part, but—great numbers aſſuredly, have been torn from their native country and deareſt connections, by means which no good mind can reflect upon but with ſentiments of diſguſt, commiſeration, and ſorrow! CHAP. II.

BOOK IV.

I am not unapprized of the danger I incur at this juncture * in treating the ſubject of African Slavery, and the Slave Trade. By endeavouring to remove thoſe wild and ill-founded notions which have been long encouraged by miſinformed writers in Great Britain, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands, I am conſcious that I ſhall be expoſed to all that "bitterneſs of wrath, and anger and clamour, and evil ſpeaking and malice," with which it has long been popular to load the unfortunate ſlaveholder: yet nothing is more certain than that the Slave Trade may be very wicked, and the planters in general very innocent. Much the greateſt part of the preſent inhabitants of the Britiſh Weſt Indies came into poſſeſſion of their plantations by inheritance or accident. Many perſons there are, in Great Britain itſelf, who, amidſt the continual fluctuation of human affairs, and the changes incident to property, find themſelves poſſeſſed of eſtates in the Weſt Indies which they have never ſeen, and inveſted with powers over their fellow creatures there, which, however extenſively odious, they have never abuſed: ſome of theſe gentlemen, unacquainted with local circumſtances, and miſled by the popular outcry, have humanely given orders to emancipate all their ſlaves, at whatever expence; but are convinced that their benevolent purpoſes cannot be carried into effect conſiſtently even with the happineſs of the Negroes themſelves.--The Reverend Society eſtabliſhed in Great Britain for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts, are themſelves under this very predicament. That venerable ſociety hold a plantation in Barbadoes under a deviſe of Co-

* Alluding to the petitions depending in parliament (1791) for an abolition of the Slave Trade.

lonel

lonel Codrington; and they have found themſelves not only under the diſagreeable neceſſity of ſupporting the ſyſtem of ſlavery which was bequeathed to them with the land; but are induced alſo, from the pureſt and beſt motives, to purchaſe occaſionally a certain number of Negroes, in order to divide the work, and keep up the ſtock. They well know that moderate labour, unaccompanied with that wretched anxiety to which the poor of England are ſubject, in making proviſion for the day that is paſſing over them, is a ſtate of comparative felicity: and they know alſo, that men in ſavage life have no incentive to emulation: perſuaſion is loſt on ſuch men, and compulſion, to a certain degree, is humanity and charity. CHAP. II.

The queſtion then, and the only queſtion wherein the character of the planters is concerned, is this:—Making due allowance for human frailty under the influence of a degree of power ever dangerous to virtue, is their general conduct towards their ſlaves ſuch only as neceſſarily reſults from their ſituation? If to this enquiry, an affirmative be returned, ſurely Chriſtian charity, though it may lament and condemn the firſt eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of ſlavery among them, and the means by which it is ſtill kept up and ſupported, will not haſtily arraign thoſe who neither introduced, nor, as I ſhall hereafter ſhew, have been wanting in their beſt endeavours to correct and remedy many of the evils of it.

Having premiſed thus much, I ſhall now proceed to lay before my readers ſome account of the origin and preſent ſtate of the Slave Trade, between the nations of Africa and ſuch of the States of Europe as are concerned in it: this will conſtitute what remains of the preſent chapter.

BOOK IV.

ter. In the next, I ſhall offer ſome thoughts on the Negro character and diſpoſition: after which I ſhall treat, firſt, of the means by which ſlaves are procured in Africa; ſecondly, of the mode of conveying them to the Weſt Indies; and thirdly, of their general treatment and ſituation when ſold to the planters there: an arrangement which will afford opportunities of illuſtrating the foregoing obſervations, by enabling me to interſperſe ſuch reflections as occur to my mind on the ſeveral petitions now depending in parliament for a total abolition of the Slave Trade, all or the greateſt part of which are grounded on abuſes charged to exiſt under thoſe ſeveral heads.

In the year 1442, while the Portugueſe, under the encouragement of their celebrated Prince Henry, were exploring the coaſt of Africa, Anthony Gonſalez, who two years before had ſeized ſome Moors near *Cape Bojadar*, was by that prince ordered to carry his priſoners back to Africa: he landed them at *Rio del-Oro*, and received from the Moors in exchange, ten Blacks, and a quantity of gold duſt, with which he returned to Liſbon.

The ſucceſs of Gonſalez, not only awakened the admiration, but ſtimulated the avarice of his countrymen; who, in the courſe of a few ſucceeding years, fitted out no leſs than thirty-ſeven ſhips in purſuit of the ſame gainful traffic. In 1481, the Portugueſe built a fort on the Gold Coaſt; another, ſome time afterwards, on the Iſland of Arguin; and a third at Loango Saint Paul's, on the coaſt of Angola; and the king of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guiney.

So early as the year 1502, the Spaniards began to employ a few Negroes in the mines of Hiſpaniola; but, in the year following, Ovando, the

the governor of that iſland, forbad the further importation of them; alledging that they taught the Indians all manner of wickedneſs, and rendered them leſs tractable than formerly*. So dreadfully rapid, however, was the decreaſe of the laſt-mentioned unfortunate people, as to induce the court of Spain, a few years afterwards, to revoke the orders iſſued by Ovando, and to authorize, by royal authority, the introduction of African Slaves from the Portugueſe Settlements on the coaſt of Guiney. In the year 1517, the Emperor Charles V. granted a patent to certain perſons for the excluſive ſupply of 4,000 Negroes annually, to the iſlands of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico†. This patent having been aſſigned to ſome Genoeſe merchants, the ſupply of Negroes to the Spaniſh American plantations became from that time an eſtabliſhed and regular branch of commerce.

The concurrence of the Emperor to this meaſure was obtained at the ſolicitation of Bartholemew de las Caſas, Biſhop of Chiapa, the celebrated protector and advocate of the Indians; and the conduct of this great prelate, on that occaſion, has been the ſubject of much cenſure and animadverſion. He is charged with the iniquitous abſurdity of reducing one race of men to ſlavery, while he was concerting the means of reſtoring freedom to another. "While he contended," ſays a late writer‡, "for the liberty of the people born in one quarter of the globe, he laboured to enſlave the inhabitants of another region; and in the warmth of his zeal to ſave the Americans from the yoke, pronounced it to

* Herrara, Decad. 1. lib. 5. c. 12.

† Herrara, Dec. 2. lib. 2. c. 20.

‡ Robertſon, Hiſt. Amer.

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BOOK IV.

be lawful and expedient to impoſe one, *ſtill heavier*, upon the Africans." It would be difficult perhaps to ſay what yoke could well be heavier than the rigorous one impoſed by the Spaniards on the wretched Indians; under which, as the ſame Hiſtorian elſewhere relates, the Natives of Hiſpaniola "were reduced, in the ſhort ſpace of fifteen years, from at leaſt a million, to ſixty thouſand. But the conduct of Las Caſas is not fully and fairly ſtated in the foregoing repreſentation; for it ſuppoſes that each claſs of people (the Negroes and Indians) was found in a ſimilar condition and ſituation of life, whereas it is notorious that many of the negroes imported from Africa, are born of enſlaved parents, are bred up as Slaves themſelves, and as ſuch have been habituated to labour from their infancy. On this account we are told, that one able Negro was capable of performing the work of four Indians. On the other hand, the condition of theſe laſt-mentioned people was widely removed from a ſtate of ſlavery. "The inhabitants of theſe iſlands," ſays a cotemporary writer, "have been ſo uſed to the enjoyment of liberty, in a life of plenty and paſtime, that the yoke of ſervitude is inſupportable to them; and aſſuredly, if they would but embrace our holy religion, they would be the happieſt of human beings in the enjoyment of their ancient freedom *." Las Caſas therefore contended reaſonably enough, that men inured to ſervitude and drudgery, who could experience no alteration of circumſtances from a change of maſters, and who felt not the ſentiments which freedom alone can inſpire, were not ſo great objects of commiſeration, as thoſe who, having always enjoyed the ſweets of unbounded liberty,

* Pet. Martyr. Decad.

were ſuddenly deprived of it, and urged to taſks of labour which their ſtrength was unable to perform. Las Caſas could neither prevent nor foreſee the abuſes and evils that have ariſen from the ſyſtem of traffic recommended by him, and is not therefore juſtly chargeable with the raſhneſs, abſurdity, and iniquity which have ſince been imputed to his conduct. CHAP. II.

Of the Engliſh, the firſt who is known to have been concerned in this commerce, was the celebrated John Hawkins, who was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made treaſurer of the navy.—His adventures are recorded by Hakluyt, a cotemporary hiſtorian. Having made ſeveral voyages to the Canary Iſlands, and there received information (ſays Hakluyt) "that Negroes were very good merchandiſe in Hiſpaniola, and that ſtore of Negroes might eaſily be had on the Coaſt of Guiney, he reſolved to make trial thereof, and communicated that device, with his worſhipful friends of London, Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Maſter Gunſon (his father-in-law) Sir William Winter, Maſter Bromfield, and others; all which perſons liked ſo well of his intention, that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action; for which purpoſe there were three good ſhips immediately provided, the Salmon of 120 tunnes, wherein Maſter Hawkins himſelf went, as general; the Swallow, of 100 tunnes, and the Jonas, a bark of 40 tunnes; in which ſmall fleete, Maſter Hawkins took with him 100 men."

Hawkins ſailed from England for Sierra Leone, in the month of October 1562, and in a ſhort time after his arrival on the coaſt, got into his poſſeſſion, partly (ſays Hakluyt) by the ſword, and

BOOK IV. and partly by other means, to the number of 300 Negroes, beſides other merchandiſe, with which he proceeded directly for Hiſpaniola, and touching at different ports in that iſland, diſpoſed of the whole of his cargo in exchange for hides, ginger, ſugar, and ſome pearls; and arrived in England in September 1563, after a very proſperous voyage, which brought great profit to the adventurers.

The ſucceſs which had attended this firſt expedition, appears to have attracted the notice, and excited the avarice of the Britiſh government; for we find Hawkins, in the year following appointed to the command of one of the Queen's ſhips, the Jeſus of 700 tons, and with the Solomon, the Tiger, a bark of 50 tons, and the Swallow, a bark of 30 tons, ſent a ſecond time on the ſame trading expedition; but with what part of the profits for his own ſhare, is not mentioned. He ſailed from Plymouth, the 18th of October 1564, and the ſame day joined at ſea the Minion, another of the Queen's ſhips, commanded by Captain David Carlet, and which, with two others, the John Baptiſt, and the Merlin, were likewiſe bound for Guiney.

The hiſtory of this voyage is related at large in Hakluyt's Collection, by a perſon who embarked with Hawkins; from whoſe account it appears, that the fleet was diſperſed by a violent gale of wind, in the Bay of Biſcay; that the Merlin caught fire and blew up; that the John Baptiſt put back, but that all the other veſſels arrived at length at Cape Verde, on the Coaſt of Africa. "The people of Cape Verde," ſays the writer, "are called *Leophares*, and are counted "the goodlieſt men of all others ſaving the Con-"goes, who inhabit this ſide the Cape de Buena "Eſperance.

" Eſperance. Theſe Leophares have wars againſt
" the Jaloffs, which are borderers by them.—
" Theſe men alſo are more civil than any other,
" becauſe of their daily trafficke with the French-
" men, and are of a nature very gentle and lov-
" ing. Here we ſtayed but one night, and part
" of the day, for the 7th of December we came
" away; in that intending to have taken Negroes
" there perforce; the Minion's men gave them
" to underſtand of our coming, and our pre-
" tence; wherefore they did avoyde the ſnares
" that we lay'd for them."

It ſeems probable from this account, that the captain of the Minion having an independent command, was jealous of Hawkins's authority, or, it is rather to be hoped, was ſhocked at the exceſſes to which his avarice urged him, in laying ſnares to carry off and ſeize the unoffending Natives. After this, the Minion no longer acted in concert, nor ſailed in company with Hawkins and his ſquadron.

On the 8th of December, Hawkins anchored at a ſmall iſland called Alcatraſa. At this place we are informed that the Jeſus and Solomon riding at anchor, the two barks with their boats, went to an iſland belonging to a people called the *Sapies*, to ſee if they could take any of the inhabitants. The Engliſh landed, to the number of eighty, with arms and ammunition; but the natives flying into the woods, they returned without ſucceſs. A ſhort time afterwards, we find this righteous commander at one of the iſlands which are called *Sambula*. " In this
" iſland (ſays the writer) we ſtayed certain dayes,
" going every day on ſhore to take the inha-
" bitants with burning and ſpoiling their towns.
" Theſe inhabitants (who were called *Samboes*)
" hold

BOOK IV.

"hold divers of the Sapies taken in war as "their ſlaves, whom they kept to till the ground, "of whom we took many in that place, but of "the Samboes none at all; for they fled into the "maine." The writer then proceeds to give an account of the manners and cuſtoms of theſe people; and relates, among other particulars, that ſlavery is the eſtabliſhed puniſhment for theft. "If a man (ſays he) ſteals but a Portugal "cloth from another, he is ſold to the Portu-"gals for a ſlave." He relates further, that the Samboes, in a time of ſcarcity, devoured their captives, for want of better food.

The reſt of Hawkins's adventures are nothing to my preſent purpoſe. What has been quoted, is ſufficient to demonſtrate that a regular traffic had been eſtabliſhed, ſo early as the year 1564, both by the Portugueſe and the French, with ſome nations of Africa, for the purchaſe of Slaves; that this intercourſe was founded on mutual contract, and tended to civiliſe the Natives on the Coaſt; ſome nations of whom were poſſeſſed of Slaves, which they kept for the purpoſes of agriculture; and occaſionally killed for food; a horrid practice, that, I believe, no longer exiſts in this part of Africa. In regard to Hawkins himſelf, he was, I admit, a murderer and a robber. His avowed purpoſe in ſailing to Guiney, was to ſeize by ſtratagem or force, and carry away, the unſuſpecting Natives, in view of ſelling them as Slaves to the people of Hiſpaniola. In this purſuit, his object was preſent profit, and his employment and paſtime devaſtation and murder. He made a third voyage to Africa in 1568, for the ſame purpoſe, with a ſquadron of ſix ſhips, which the reader will not be ſorry to find terminated moſt miſerably; and put a ſtop, for ſome years,

years, to any more piratical expeditions of the Engliſh to the Coaſt of Africa. CHAP. II.

The firſt notice which I find in hiſtory of an actual attempt by the Britiſh nation to eſtabliſh a regular trade on the African Coaſt, is in the year 1618, when King James I. granted an excluſive charter to Sir Robert Rich, and ſome other merchants of London, for raiſing a joint ſtock for a trade to Guiney: ſhips were accordingly fitted out; but the profits not being found to anſwer expectation, the proprietors ſoon afterwards withdrew their contributions; and the charter was ſuffered to expire *.

In 1631, King Charles I. erected by charter a ſecond company for a trade to Africa; granting to Sir Richard Young, Sir Kenelm Digby, and ſundry merchants, to enjoy the ſole trade to the Coaſt of Guiney, between Cape Blanco and the Cape of Good Hope, together with the iſles adjacent, for 31 years to come. As the Engliſh had by this time began the ſettlement of plantations in the Weſt Indies, Negroes were in ſuch demand, as to induce the new company, at a great expence, to erect forts and warehouſes on the Coaſt, for the protection of their commerce; but ſo many private adventurers and interlopers of all nations, broke in upon them, as in effect to force the trade open, and ſo it continued until after the reſtoration of Charles II.

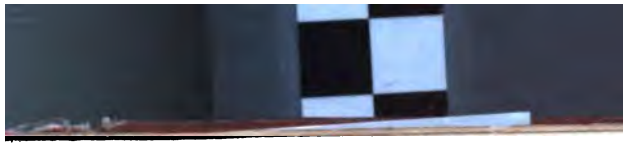
In the year 1662, a third excluſive African company was incorporated, conſiſting of many perſons of high rank and diſtinction; at the head of whom was the king's brother, the duke of

* Queen Elizabeth is ſaid to have granted a patent in the 30th year of her reign, for carrying on an excluſive trade from the river Senegal to a hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leone; but I do not find that any voyage was ever made in conſequence of it.

BOOK IV.

York. This company undertook to ſupply our Weſt Indian plantations with 3000 Negroes annually; but in 1664, the king intending to make war on the Dutch, ſecretly ſent Sir Robert Holmes to the Coaſt, with orders to ſeize the Dutch forts near Cape Verde; in which ſervice Holmes ſucceeded, and built at the ſame time a new fort at the mouth of the River Gambia, called James Fort, which we ſtill hold. Thence ſailing ſouthward, he maſtered all the Dutch factories on the Guiney Coaſt, except St. George D'Elmina and Acheen; all of which however were retaken in 1665, by De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral; together with the fort of Koromantyn, belonging to the Engliſh company, which (if I miſtake not) the Dutch hold at this day, by the name of Fort Amſterdam.

In 1672 (the third company having in this year ſurrendered their charter to the crown) the fourth and laſt excluſive company was eſtabliſhed. It was dignified by the title of the Royal African Company, and had, among its ſubſcribers, the King, the duke of York, and many other perſons of high rank and quality; and the whole capital of £.111,000 was raiſed in nine months. Out of this ſubſcription, the late company was allowed £. 34,000 for their three forts of Cape Coaſt Caſtle, Sierra Leone, and James Fort. The new company ſoon improved their trade, and increaſed the number of their forts; and, as all former companies were obliged to ſend to Holland to make up an aſſortment for the cargoes of their ſhips, they now introduced into England the making of ſundry kinds of woollen goods, and other manufactures not before known; and they imported from the Coaſt great quantities of gold, out of which, in 1673, 50,000 guineas (ſo named from



from the country) were coined. They alſo imported redwood for dyers, ivory, wax, and ſome other valuable commodities; and they exported to the value of £.70,000 annually in Engliſh goods. CHAP. II.

But the revolution in 1688 changed the ſcene; for by the 1ſt of William and Mary, as the *Petition and Declaration of Right* is commonly called, the African and all other excluſive companies not authoriſed by parliament, were aboliſhed: the African trade, therefore, became in fact, free and open; although the company ſtill perſiſted in ſeizing the ſhips of ſeparate traders; a meaſure which occaſioned much clamour, and no ſmall obſtruction to the Negroe-trade. The diſputes which this conduct gave riſe to, are however too unintereſting at preſent to be brought again to remembrance.

In 1689 was eſtabliſhed the firſt *Aſſiento* company for ſupplying the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with Negroes from Jamaica; and in 1698 the trade to Africa, which, by the Petition of Right, was virtually laid open, was legally made ſo, under certain conditions; for by ſtatutes 9th and 10th of Will. and Mary, c. 26. it was enacted—

"That for the preſervation of the trade, and for the advantage of England and its Colonies, it ſhould be lawful for any of the ſubjects of his Majeſty's realm of England, as well as for the company, to trade from England and the Plantations in America to Africa, between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope; upon paying for the aforeſaid uſes a duty of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, for the goods exported from England or the Plantations, to be paid to the collector at the time of entry outwards, for the uſe of the company.

"The ſame liberty was given to trade between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount; but, in addition to

BOOK IV.

to the 10 per cent. on exportation, there was to be paid a further ſum of 10 *per cent. ad valorem*, on all goods and merchandize, redwood excepted, which was to pay only 5 *per cent.* at the place of exportation, imported into England, or the Plantations, from the coaſt between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount. The duties ſo paid were to be applied to the maintenance of the forts and caſtles, the providing ammunition, and ſoldiers. The company were yearly to render an account of the receipt of theſe duties and their application, to the Curſitor Baron of Exchequer.

"Perſons paying theſe duties were to have the ſame protection and defence for their perſons, ſhips, and goods, from the forts and caſtles, and the ſame freedom and ſecurity for their negociations and trade, as the company. They might ſettle factories within their limits, and were to be free from all moleſtations from the company.

"No duty impoſed by this act was to extend to Negroes exported, or to gold and ſilver, nor was the act to be ſo conſtrued as to hinder any one from trading to that part of Africa commonly called South Barbary, extending ſoutherly as far as Cape Blanco."

Againſt the regulations of this law, which was to continue in force for 13 years, both the company and many of the private traders remonſtrated without effect; and the company's affairs, in the courſe of a few years, declined to ſo great a degree, that they were unable either to ſupport their factories with new inveſtments, or to pay the debts which they had already incurred. Parliament at length was induced to give them ſome aſſiſtance; and in 1739 voted £.10,000 for that purpoſe, and the like ſum annually until the year 1744, when, by reaſon of the war with France and Spain,

Spain, the grant was doubled. In each of the two ſucceeding years £.10,000 was again voted; —but nothing was granted for 1747.

In the year 1750 the African trade, after having paſſed, as we have ſeen, through different conſtitutions and conditions, aſſumed a new appearance; for in that year the law took place under which it ſtill exiſts, and is at preſent regulated. It is entitled, "An act for extending and improving the trade to Africa;" the terms and conditions whereof I need not ſet forth, as the act itſelf is ſo eaſily referred to. Of the ſeveral countries however with which the trade is at preſent carried on, and the ſtate of it for ſome years paſt, ſome particulars may be neceſſary. My account will be brief; there being many deſcriptions of Guiney extant; and an abridgement and ſummary of the beſt hiſtories (collated and arranged with great judgment and accuracy) are given to the public in Aſtley's Collection of Voyages; wherein the reader will find much curious and uſeful information *.

That part then of the African coaſt on the Atlantic ocean, with which the people of Europe have an intercourſe, extends from Cape Blanco, in 21° N. latitude, to a Portugueſe ſettlement called *Loango St. Paul's*, in the kingdom of Angola, lat. 9° S. comprehending a line of coaſt of upwards of 1,300 Engliſh leagues, and conſiſting of various countries, inhabited by a great

* In the year 1763 Senegal and its dependencies were veſted in the African Company; but in 1765 the ſame became veſted in the crown, and the trade was laid open. Thus the whole African trade is free to all his Majeſty's ſubjects; but that part of it which is carried on between Port Salee and Cape Rouge is under the direction of government. From Cape Rouge to the Cape of Good Hope, the Engliſh forts are under the direction of a committee of the company.

number

BOOK IV. number of ſavage nations, differing widely from each other, in government, language, manners and ſuperſtitions.

The firſt of theſe countries, in which the Britiſh have an eſtabliſhment, is the province of Senegambia; including the river Senegal, which opens into the Weſtern ocean in nearly 16 degrees, and the river Gambia in 13° ½ N. latitude. Both theſe rivers are navigable many hundred miles up the country. The Negroes obtained from this part of Africa are known to the Weſt Indian planters by the general name of *Mandingoes*.

From Cape Roxo (or Rouge) to Cape Appollonia, the European ſettlements, except a ſmall Engliſh factory in the river Sierra Leone, are chiefly thoſe of the Portugueſe.—The Negroes obtained through their means, as well as from the Engliſh factory, are likewiſe called Mandingoes—I believe improperly; as many different languages are ſpoken on the coaſt between Senegal and Appollonia. This part of Africa is commonly called the Windward Coaſt.

The Gold Coaſt extends from Cape Appollonia to the River Volta, comprehending a line of 100 leagues. The maritime country is divided into a number of petty ſtates or principalities, ſeemingly independant of, and often at war with, each other; the chief of which are Axim, Ante, Adom, Jabi, Commani, Fetu, Sabou, Fantyn (a rich and powerful people) Acron, and Agonna; ſome of which are ſaid to maintain a republican, or more probably an ariſtocratical, form of government. Of the inland country we know but little more than that it conſiſts of three extenſive kingdoms, called Aſſiantee (or Shantee) Akim, and the Aquambou; each of which ſupplies the maritime ſtates with great numbers of ſlaves, which

which they ſell to the Europeans. In the Britiſh Weſt Indies, moſt of the Negroes purchaſed on the Gold Coaſt, are known by the general appellation of *Koromantees*, from Koromantyn, one of the earlieſt of our factories on this part of the African coaſt, as hath been already obſerved, but which is now become an inſignificant village, or factory, in poſſeſſion of the Dutch. It is ſituated in the kingdom of Fantyn, two miles from the fort of Anamaboe.—I believe that the ſame, or different dialects of the ſame language, is ſpoken throughout all the Gold Coaſt countries.

From the river Volta to the river Lagos, extends the Whidah country, (at preſent a province to the king of Dahomey, a great inland kingdom) by ſome geographers conſidered as part of the Gold Coaſt; by others denominated *The Slave Coaſt proper*. It begins with the ſmall and barren ſtate of Koto or Lampi, next to which is the kingdom of Adra, comprehending the ſubordinate maritime principalities of Great and Little Popo, or Papaw; from whence the Whidah Negroes are called generally, by the Britiſh traders, *Papaws*. The Whidah language, except as to the inhabitants of Koto, is peculiar and appropriate. The people of Koto ſpeak a dialect of the Gold Coaſt, and there is a tribe of Whidah Negroes called *Nagoes*, who have a dialect which, though underſtood by the Papaws, differs from the Whidah language in many particulars.

Weſt of the river Lagos begins the great kingdom of Benin, the coaſt of which forms a gulph or bight, ending at Cape Lopez, wherein are ſituated the trading places (being ſo many villages on the banks of ſeveral rivers) of Benin, Bonny, Old and new Callabar, Cameron and Gaboon.

BOOK IV.

The ſlaves purchaſed on this part of the coaſt, have the general denomination of *Eboes*; probably from Arebo, the name oof a village, formerly a conſiderable town, on the river Benin. Some of them (a tribe, I believe, from the interior country) are likewiſe called *Mocoes*. In language they differ both from the Gold Coaſt Negroes and thoſe of Whidah, and in ſome reſpects from each other; for from Whidah to Angola, the dialects vary at almoſt every trading river.

From Cape Lopez to the river Congo, diſtant 140 leagues, I believe the trade is chiefly engroſſed by the Dutch and the French. To the ſouthward of this river, very little trade is carried on by any Europeans except the Portugueſe, who, as hath been obſerved, have a large city at Loango St. Paul's, on the Coaſt of Angola, ſtrongly fortified; from which place they have penetrated quite through the country to their ſettlements at, and ſouth of, Mozambique upon the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, where they have caravans conſtantly going and returning, and by that means carry on an extenſive and advantageous inland commerce.

The whole number of forts and factories eſtabliſhed on the coaſt by the different powers of Europe, is I believe 40; of which 14 belong to the Engliſh, 3 to the French, 15 to the Dutch, four to the Portugueſe, and 4 to the Danes.

The commodities exported by the Britiſh traders to Africa, conſiſt chiefly of woollens, linens, Mancheſter goods, Birmingham and Sheffield goods; Eaſt Indian ſilks and mixed goods; Engliſh printed callicoes and cottons; ready-made clothes, muſquets, bayonets, cutlaſſes, gunpowder, ſhot, wrought and unwrought braſs and copper, lead, pewter, wrought and unwrought iron,

iron, hats, worſted caps, earthen ware, Britiſh ſpirits, rum and brandy, tea, ſugar, coffee, and proviſions of every kind.—The annual value, of late years, is eſtimated on an average at about £.800,000 ſterling.

In ſome parts of the coaſt there is a duty paid on each ſhip, to the king or chief man of the country; which is called his cuſtoms. In other parts this is not exacted; but it is only in ſuch places as have but little trade. When permiſſion is obtained to trade, the ſlaves are ſometimes brought by the Black merchants on board the ſhips, and there ſold; and ſometimes they are purchaſed on ſhore at the merchants houſes, and brought off to the ſhips, by the captains; after which the Black traders come on board to receive payment. In theſe particulars, circumſtances and ſituations very often change the mode, juſt as an oppoſition among a number of purchaſers makes it more or leſs neceſſary. Many of the factories on the coaſt are private property; of courſe they procure ſlaves for the ſhips in their own concern. Sometimes they barter ſlaves with ſtrangers, in order to enlarge their own aſſortment of goods, or to procure ſome particular commodities of which they are in want. Among the forts, the officers that belong to them carry on trade more or leſs with the ſhipping as their circumſtances will admit, and according as they are more or leſs independant; but the Black traders are ſuppoſed to ſell their ſlaves about forty ſhillings each cheaper than the factories.

In thoſe parts of the coaſt to which ſhipping reſort all the year, the intercourſe between the Black traders within land (for an extent as yet unexplored by any White perſon) and thoſe on the coaſt, is conſtant and regular; but we have

BOOK IV.

no ſufficiently preciſe and particular account of the manner in which this conſtant ſupply of ſlaves for ſale is kept up and ſupported. I ſhall hereafter give the beſt information I have been able to collect on this head. I regret that I have not ſufficient materials to enable me to furniſh an accurate ſtatement of the number of Africans that have been tranſported to the Britiſh colonies ſince their firſt ſettlement. However, that curioſity may not be wholly diſappointed, I have collected ſuch materials as I think will enable the reader to form ſome judgment in this reſpect, which probably will not be very wide of the truth.

In the various publications with which the preſs abounded during the time that the diſputes between the African Company and the private traders were an object of national concern, it is aſſerted by one party, and not denied by the other, that about 140,000 Negroes had been exported by the company, and 160,000 more by private adventurers, between the years 1680 and 1700: Total 300,000. From 1700 to December 1786, the number imported into Jamaica was 610,000. I ſay this on ſufficient evidence, having in my poſſeſſion liſts of all the entries. Of the number imported during the ſame interval into the ſouthern provinces of North America, as well as the Windward Iſlands, I cannot ſpeak with preciſion; but I am of opinion that the Jamaica import may fairly be reckoned one-third of the whole. On theſe grounds, the total import into all the Britiſh colonies of America and the Weſt Indies, from 1680 to 1786, may be put at 2,130,000, being, on an average of the whole, 20,095 annually. This I admit is much leſs than is commonly ſuppoſed: Anderſon roundly fixes the annual

nual import at 100,000; but vague and general assertions prove nothing. The re-export may be stated at about one-fifth part of the import. CHAP. II.

It appears to me, that the British slave trade had attained to its highest pitch of prosperity a short time before the commencement of the late American war. The following has been given to the public as an accurate account of the ships which sailed from England for the Coast in 1771, and of the number of slaves for the purchase and transportation of which they were sufficiently provided, and I believe its authenticity cannot be doubted; viz.

	Ships.		Negroes.
To Senegambia - -	40	for	3,310
Windward Coast -	56	—	11,960
Gold Coast - -	29	—	7,525
Bight of Benin -	63	—	23,301
Angola - - -	4	—	1,050
Total -	192	—	47,146

Of the above 192 ships — Negroes.

107	failed from Liverpool, for -	29,250
58	— from London, for -	8,136
23	— from Bristol, for - -	8,810
4	— from Lancaster, for - -	950

In the year 1772 failed from Great Britain, for the African coast

		175	vessels, having goods on board valued at	£.	866,394	11 3
1773	-	151	- ditto -		688,110	10 11
1774	-	167	- ditto -		846,525	12 5
1775	-	152	- ditto -		786,168	2 8
1776	-	101	- ditto -		470,779	1 1
1777	-	58	- ditto -		239,218	3 —
1778	-	41	- ditto -		154,086	1 10
1779	-	28	- ditto -		159,217	19 7

This

BOOK IV.

This defalcation was unqueſtionbly owing to the late war, on the termination of which the trade immediately began to revive, as appears by the following account of the Negroes imported into and exported from the Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands, from 1783 to 1787 (both years incluſive); viz.

Year.	N° of ſhips.	Tons.	Negroes imported.	Negroes exported.	Negroes retained.
1783	38	5,455	16,208	809	15,399
1184	93	13,301	28,550	5,263	23,287
1785	73	10,730	21,598	5,018	16,580
1786	67	8,070	19,160	4,317	14,843
1787	85	12,183	21,023	5,366	15,657

Of the whole number now annually exported from Africa, by the ſubjects of Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, and the particular countries whence ſupplied, the following account was tranſmitted by the merchants of Liverpool to the Lords of the Privy Council, and it is undoubtedly as authentic and particular a return as can poſſibly be obtained: viz.

	N°. of ſlaves exported.
By the Britiſh	38,000
French	20,000
Dutch	4,000
Danes	2,000
Portugueſe	10,000
Total	74,000

Of which	N° of ſlaves.
Gambia furniſhes about	700
Iſles Dèlos, and the adjacent rivers	1,500
From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount	2,000
Cape Mount to C. Palmas	3,000
Cape Palmas to C. Appolonia	1,000

Gold

	N° of Slaves.
Gold Coaſt - - -	10,000
Quitta and Popo - - -	1,000
Whydah - - - -	4,500
Porto Novo, Eppee, and Bidagry -	3,500
Lagos and Benin - -	3,500
Bonny and New Calabar - -	14,500
Old Calabar and Cameroons -	7,000
Gabon and Cape Lopez - -	500
Loango, Melimba, and Cape Renda	1 3,500
Majumba, Ambris, and Miſſoula -	1,000
Loango St. Paul's, and Benguela -	7,000
Total -	74,200

Of the miſerable people thus condemned to perpetual exile and ſervitude, though born in various and widely-ſeparated countries, it is not eaſy to diſcriminate the peculiar manners and native propenſities. The ſimilar and uniform ſyſtem of life to which they are all reduced; the few opportunities and the little encouragement that are given them for mental improvement, are circumſtances that neceſſarily induce a predominant and prevailing caſt of character and diſpoſition. "The day," ſays Homer, "which makes man a ſlave, takes away half his worth;" and, in fact, he loſes every impulſe to action, except that of fear. Nevertheleſs, there are among ſeveral of the African nations ſome ſtriking and predominant features, which cannot eaſily be overlooked by a perſon reſiding in any one of the ſugar plantations. Theſe peculiarities I ſhall endeavour to deſcribe with candour and impartiality; after which, I ſhall attempt a delineation of their general character, as it is diſplayed under all the various modifications and circumſtances of original habits, and preſent ſituation and condition.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Mandingoes, or Natives of the Windward Coaſt.—Mahometans.—Their wars, manners, and perſons.—Koromantyn Negroes, or Natives of the Gold Coaſt.—Their ferociouſneſs of diſpoſition diſplayed by an account of the Negro rebellion in Jamaica in 1760.—Their national manners, wars, and ſuperſtitions.—Natives of Whidah or Fida.—Their good qualities.—Nagoes.—Negroes from Benin.—Perſons and tempers.—Canibals.—Natives of Kongo and Angola.—Survey of the character and diſpoſitions of Negroes in a ſtate of ſlavery.

BOOK IV.

MOST, if not all, the nations that inhabit that part of Africa which lies to the northward and eaſtward of Sierra Leone, are Mahometans; and following the means of converſion preſcribed by their prophet, are, as we are told, perpetually at war with ſuch of the ſurrounding nations as refuſe to adopt their religious tenets. The priſoners taken in theſe religious wars furniſh, I doubt not, great part of the ſlaves which are exported from the factories on the Windward coaſt; and it is probable that death would be the fate of moſt of the captives, if purchaſers were not to be met with.

But the Mandingoes have frequent wars with each other, as well as with ſuch nations as they conſider enemies of their faith; and I am afraid that ſome of theſe wars ariſe from motives even leſs juſtifiable than religious zeal. An old and faithful

faithful Mandingo ſervant, who ſtands at my elbow while I write this, relates that being ſent by his father to viſit a diſtant relation in a country wherein the Portugueſe had a ſettlement, a fray happened in the village in which he reſided; that many people were killed, and others taken priſoners, and he himſelf was ſeized and carried off in the ſkirmiſh; not, as he conceives, by a foreign enemy, but by ſome of the natives of the place; and being ſent down a river in a canoe, was ſold to the captain of the ſhip that brought him to Jamaica. Of his national cuſtoms and manners he remembers but little, being, at the time of his captivity, but a youth. He relates, that the natives practiſe circumciſion, and that he himſelf has undergone that operation; and he has not forgot the morning and evening prayer which his father taught him; in proof of this aſſertion, he chants, in an audible and ſhrill tone, a ſentence that I conceive to be part of the Alcoran, *La illa, ill lilla!* *, which he ſays they ſing aloud at the firſt appearance of the new moon. He relates, moreover, that in his own country Friday was conſtantly made a day of ſtrict faſting. It was almoſt a ſin, he obſerves, on that day, *to ſwallow his ſpittle*,—ſuch is his expreſſion. CHAP. III.

Beſides this man, I had once another Mandingo ſervant, who could write, with great beauty and exactneſs, the Arabic alphabet, and ſome paſſages from the Alcoran. Whether his learning extended any further, I had no opportunity of being informed, as he died ſoon after he came into my poſſeſſion.

The advantage poſſeſſed by a few of theſe people, of being able to read and write, is a circumſtance on which the Mandingo Negroes in

* There is no God, but God.

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BOOK IV.

the Weſt Indies pride themſelves greatly among the reſt of the ſlaves; over whom they conſider that they poſſeſs a marked ſuperiority; and in truth they diſplay ſuch gentleneſs of diſpoſition and demeanour, as would ſeem the reſult of early education and diſcipline, were it not that, generally ſpeaking, they are more prone to theft than any of the African tribes. It has been ſuppoſed that this propenſity, among other vices, is natural to a ſtate of ſlavery, which degrades and corrupts the human mind in a deplorable manner; but why the Mandingoes ſhould have become more vicious in this reſpect than the reſt of the Natives of Africa in the ſame condition of life, is a queſtion I cannot anſwer.

In their complexions and perſons, the Mandingoes are eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed from ſuch of the Africans as are born nearer to the equator; but they conſiſt nevertheleſs of very diſtinct tribes, ſome of which are remarkably tall and black, and there is one tribe among them (called alſo the Phulies) that ſeems to me to conſtitute the link between the Moors and Negroes properly ſo called. They are of a leſs gloſſy black than the Gold Coaſt Negroes; and their hair, though buſhy and criſped, is not woolly, but ſoft and ſilky to the touch. Neither have the Mandingoes, in common, the thick lips and flat noſes of the more ſouthern Natives; and they are, in a great degree, exempt from that ſtrong and fetid odour, which exhales from the ſkin of moſt of the latter; but in general they are not well adapted for hard labour.

After all, they differ leſs in their perſons, than in the qualities of the mind, from the Natives of the Gold Coaſt; who may be ſaid to conſtitute the genuine and original unmixed Negro, both in perſon and character.

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The circumſtances which diſtinguiſh the Koromantyn, or Gold Coaſt, Negroes, from all others, are firmneſs both of body and mind; a ferociouſneſs of diſpoſition; but withal, activity, courage, and a ſtubbornneſs, or what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation, of ſoul, which prompts them to enterprizes of difficulty and danger; and enables them to meet death, in its moſt horrible ſhape, with fortitude or indifference. They ſometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have conſtitutions well adapted for it; for many of them have undoubtedly been ſlaves in Africa:—I have interrogated great numbers on this ſubject, and although ſome of them aſſerted they were born free, who as it was afterwards proved by the teſtimony of their own relations, were actually ſold as ſlaves by their maſters; others frankly confeſſed to me that they had no claim to freedom in their own country, and were ſold either to pay the debts, or to expiate the crimes, of their owners. On the other hand, the Gold Coaſt being inhabited by various different tribes which are engaged in perpetual warfare and hoſtility with each other, there cannot be a doubt that many of the captives taken in battle, and ſold in the European ſettlements, were of free condition in their native country, and perhaps the owners of ſlaves themſelves. It is not wonderful that ſuch men ſhould endeavour, even by means the moſt deſperate, to regain the freedom of which they have been deprived; nor do I conceive that any further circumſtances are neceſſary to prompt them to action, than that of being ſold into captivity in a diſtant country. I mean only to ſtate facts as I find them. Such I well know was the origin of the Negro rebellion which happened in Jamaica in 1760. It aroſe at the inſtigation of a

Koromantyn

BOOK IV.

Koromantyn Negro of the name of Tacky, who had been a chief in Guiney; and it broke out on the Frontier plantation in St. Mary's pariſh, belonging to the late Ballard Beckford, and the adjoining eſtate of Trinity, the property of my deceaſed relation and benefactor Zachary Bayly. On thoſe plantations were upwards of 100 Gold Coaſt Negroes newly imported, and I do not believe that an individual amongſt them had received the leaſt ſhadow of ill treatment from the time of their arrival there. Concerning thoſe on the Trinity eſtate, I can pronounce of my own knowledge that they were under the government of an overſeer of ſingular tenderneſs and humanity. His name was Abraham Fletcher, and let it be remembered, in juſtice even to the rebels, and as a leſſon to other overſeers, that his life was ſpared from reſpect to his virtues. The inſurgents had heard of his character from the other Negroes, and ſuffered him to paſs through them unmoleſted—this fact appeared in evidence. Having collected themſelves into a body about one o'clock in the morning, they proceeded to the fort at Port Maria; killed the centinel, and provided themſelves with as great a quantity of arms and ammunition as they could conveniently diſpoſe of. Being by this time joined by a number of their countrymen from the neighbouring plantations, they marched up the high road that led to the interior parts of the country, carrying death and deſolation as they went. At Ballard's Valley they ſurrounded the overſeer's houſe about four in the morning, in which eight or ten White people were in bed, every one of whom they butchered in the moſt ſavage manner, and literally drank their blood mixed with rum. At Eſher, and other eſtates, they exhibited the ſame tragedy; and then ſet fire to the buildings and canes.

canes. In one morning they murdered between thirty and forty Whites, not ſparing even infants at the breaſt, before their progreſs was ſtopped. Tacky, the Chief, was killed in the woods, by one of the parties that went in purſuit of them; but ſome others of the ringleaders being taken, and a general inclination to revolt appearing among all the Koromantyn Negroes in the iſland, it was thought neceſſary to make a few terrible examples of ſome of the moſt guilty. Of three who were clearly proved to have been concerned in the murders committed at Ballard's Valley, one was condemned to be burned, and the other two to be hung up alive in irons, and left to periſh in that dreadful ſituation. The wretch that was burned was made to ſit on the ground, and his body being chained to an iron ſtake, the fire was applied to his feet. He uttered not a groan, and ſaw his legs reduced to aſhes with the utmoſt firmneſs and compoſure; after which one of his arms by ſome means getting looſe, he ſnatched a brand from the fire that was conſuming him, and flung it in the face of the executioner. The two that were hung up alive were indulged, at their own requeſt, with a hearty meal immediately before they were ſuſpended on the gibbet, which was erected in the parade of the town of Kingſton. From that time, until they expired, they never uttered the leaſt complaint, except only of cold in the night, but diverted themſelves all day long in diſcourſe, with their countrymen, who were permitted, very improperly, to ſurround the gibbet. On the ſeventh day a notion prevailed among the ſpectators, that one of them wiſhed to communicate an important ſecret to his maſter, my near relation; who being in St. Mary's pariſh, the commanding officer ſent for me. I endeavoured, by means of an interpreter, to let him

CHAP. III.

BOOK IV. him know that I was preſent; but I could not underſtand what he ſaid in return. I remember that both he and his fellow ſufferer laughed immoderately at ſomething that occurred—I know not what. The next morning one of them ſilently expired, as did the other on the morning of the ninth day.

The courage, or unconcern, which the people of this country manifeſt at the approach of death, ariſes, doubtleſs, in a great meaſure, from their national manners, wars, and ſuperſtitions, which are all, in the higheſt degree, ſavage and ſanguinary. A power over the lives of his ſlaves is poſſeſſed, and exerciſed too, on very frivolous occaſions, without compunction or ſcruple, by every maſter of ſlaves on the Gold Coaſt. Fathers have the like power over their children. In their wars they are bloody and cruel beyond any nation that ever exiſted; for all ſuch of their captives as they reſerve not for ſlaves, they murder with circumſtances of outrageous barbarity; cutting them acroſs the face, and tearing away the under jaw, which they preſerve as a trophy, leaving the miſerable victims to periſh in that condition. I have collected this account from themſelves. They tell me likewiſe, that whenever a conſiderable man expires, ſeveral of his wives, and a great number of his ſlaves, are ſacrificed at his funeral. This is done, ſay they, that he may be properly attended in the next world. This circumſtance has been confirmed to me by every Gold Coaſt Negro that I have interrogated on the ſubject, and I have enquired of many*. In a country

* The following particulars I collected from ſome of my own Koromantyn Negroes, whoſe veracity I had no reaſon to doubt:—*Clara*, a moſt faithful well-diſpoſed woman, who was

country where executions are ſo frequent, and human blood is ſpilt with ſo little remorſe, death muſt neceſſarily have loſt many of its terrors; and the natives in general, conſcious they have no CHAP. III.

was brought from the Gold Coaſt to Jamaica the latter end of 1784, relates, "That ſhe was born in a village near Anamaboo; that her father and mother, and their children (nine in number) were ſlaves to a great man named *Anamoa*, on whoſe death ſhe herſelf, and two of her brothers (who likewiſe belong to me) with ſeveral others of his ſlaves, were ſold to pay his debts. *That twenty others were killed at his funeral.* I aſked her which country ſhe liked beſt, Jamaica or Guiney? She replied, that Jamaica was the better country, '*for that people were not killed there as in Guiney, at the funeral of their maſters.*' She informed me alſo, in anſwer to ſome other enquiries, of a remarkable fact (i. e.) that the Natives of the Gold Coaſt give their children the *yaws* (a frightful diſorder) *by inoculation*; and ſhe deſcribed the manner of performing the operation to be making an inciſion in the thigh, and putting in ſome of the infectious matter. I aſked her what benefit they expected from this practice? She anſwered, that by this means their infants had the diſorder ſlightly, and recovered ſpeedily, whereas by catching it at a later time of life, the diſeaſe, ſhe ſaid, '*got into the bone,*' that was her expreſſion.

Cudjoe, aged (as I ſuppoſe) about fifty, relates that he was born in the kingdom of Aſiantee, the king or chieftain of which country was named Poco. Cudjoe's elder brother having been caught in adultery with the wife of a man named Quaſhee, was adjudged to pay a fine to the man he had injured; which not being able to do, he delivered over him (Cudjoe) who was at that time, by his own account, a boy about ſixteen, as a compenſation; and Quaſhee immediately carried him off, and ſoon afterwards ſold him to a Black ſlave-merchant, who having purchaſed many others, carried them all to the ſea-coaſt (they were two months on their journey) and ſold them to a Captain Reeder, who brought them to Jamaica. I aſked him, what right his brother had to ſell him? '*Becauſe,*' *ſaid he,* '*my father was dead;*' and by his account fathers have an unqueſtionable right to ſell their children, and probably, on the demiſe of the father, the ſame power is aſſumed by the eldeſt ſon over the younger branches. He

BOOK IV.

no ſecurity even for the day that is paſſing over them, ſeem prepared for, and reſigned to, the fate that probably awaits them. This contempt of death, or indifference about life, they bring with them to the Weſt Indies; but if fortunately they fall into good hands at firſt, and become well ſettled, they acquire by degrees other ſentiments and notions. Nature reſumes her lawful influence over them. With the conſciouſneſs of ſecurity, the love of exiſtence alſo, amidſt all the evils that attend it in a ſtate of ſlavery, gains admiſſion into their boſoms. They feel it, and, ſuch is the force of habitual barbarity, ſeem aſhamed of their own weakneſs. A gentleman of Jamaica viſiting a valuable Koromantyn Negro that was ſick, and perceiving that he was thoughtful and dejected, endeavoured, by ſoothing and encouraging language, to raiſe his drooping ſpirits. *Maſſa*, ſaid the Negro (in a tone of ſelf-reproach and conſcious degeneracy) *ſince me come to White man's country me lub (love) life too much!*

Even the children brought from the Gold Coaſt manifeſt an evident ſuperiority, both in hardineſs of frame, and vigour of mind, over all the young people of the ſame age that are im-

He relates further, that the king has the power of life and death, and that executions are very frequent. That when the king or any conſiderable man dies, a great number of his ſlaves are ſacrificed at his tomb.' He pretends not to aſcertain any particular number, but remembers perfectly well the death of the old king whom Poco ſucceeded, and is poſitively certain that upwards of 100 people were ſlaughtered on that occaſion. To convince me that he underſtood what he ſaid when he mentioned that number, he counted the fingers of both his hands ten times. He ſaith further, that wars are very frequent; that all able men are compelled to bear arms; and that when they take priſoners, the old and infirm are killed, and the young and able preſerved to be ſold for ſlaves.

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ported from other parts of Africa. The like firmneſs and intrepidity which are diſtinguiſhable in adults of this nation, are viſible in their boys at an age which might be thought too tender to receive any laſting impreſſion, either from precept or example.—I have been myſelf an eye-witneſs to the truth of this remark, in the circumſtance I am about to relate. A gentleman of my acquaintance, who had purchaſed at the ſame time ten Koromantyn boys, and the like number of Eboes (the eldeſt of the whole apparently not more than thirteen years of age) cauſed them all to be collected and brought before him in my preſence, to be marked on the breaſt. This operation is performed by heating a ſmall ſilver brand, compoſed of one or two letters, in the flame of ſpirits of wine, and applying it to the ſkin, which is previouſly anointed with ſweet oil. The application is inſtantaneous, and the pain momentary. Nevertheleſs it may be eaſily ſuppoſed that the apparatus muſt have a frightful appearance to a child. Accordingly, when the firſt boy, who happened to be one of the Eboes, and the ſtouteſt of the whole, was led forward to receive the mark, he ſcreamed dreadfully, while his companions of the ſame nation manifeſted ſtrong emotions of ſympathetic terror. The gentleman ſtopt his hand; but the Koromantyn boys, laughing aloud, and, immediately coming forward of their own accord, offered their boſoms undauntedly to the brand, and receiving its impreſſion without flinching in the leaſt, ſnapt their fingers in exultation over the poor Eboes. CHAP. III.

One cannot ſurely but lament, that a people thus naturally emulous and intrepid, ſhould be ſunk into ſo deplorable a ſtate of barbarity and ſuperſtition; and that their ſpirits ſhould ever be

BOOK IV. broken down by the yoke of ſlavery! Whatever may be alledged concerning their ferociouſneſs and implacability in their preſent notions of right and wrong, I am perſuaded that they poſſeſs qualities, which are capable of, and well deſerve cultivation and improvement.—But it is time to conclude my obſervations on this nation, which I ſhall do, with ſome account of their religion; for which my readers are indebted to the reſearches of an ingenious gentleman of Jamaica, who is well acquainted with their language and manners. Its authenticity has been frequently confirmed to me, on my own inquiries among the Koramantyn Negroes themſelves.

They believe that *Accompong*, the God of the heavens, is the creator of all things; a Deity of infinite goodneſs; to whom however they never offer ſacrifices, thinking it ſufficient to adore him with praiſes and thankſgiving.

Aſſarci is the god of the earth; to him they offer the firſt fruits of the ground, and pour out libations of the liquors they drink to his honour.

Ipboa is the god of the ſea: if the arrival of ſhips which trade upon their coaſt is delayed, they ſacrifice a hog to deprecate the wrath of *Ipboa*.

Obboney is a malicious deity, who pervades heaven, earth, and ſea; he is the author of all evil, and when his diſpleaſure is ſignified by the infliction of peſtilential diſorders, or otherwiſe, nothing will divert his anger but human ſacrifices; which are ſelected from captives taken in war, or, if there be none preſent, then from their ſlaves.

Beſides the above deities, every family has a peculiar tutelar ſaint, who is ſuppoſed to have been originally a human being like one of themſelves, and the firſt founder of their family; upon the

the anniverſary of whoſe burial, the whole number of his deſcendants aſſemble round his grave, and the oldeſt man, after offering up praiſes to Accompong, Aſſarci, Ipboa, and their tutelar deity, ſacrifices a cock or goat, by cutting its throat, and ſhedding the blood upon the grave. Every head of an houſehold of the family, next ſacrifices a cock, or other animal in like manner, and as ſoon as all thoſe who are able to bring ſacrifices have made their oblations, the animals which have been killed, are dreſſed, and a great feſtival follows. CHAP. III.

Among their other ſuperſtitions alſo, muſt not be omitted their mode of adminiſtering an oath of ſecrecy or purgation.—Human blood, and earth taken from the grave of ſome near relation, are mixed with water, and given to the party to be ſworn, who is compelled to drink the mixture, with a horrid imprecation, that it may cauſe the belly to burſt, and the bones to rot, if the truth be not ſpoken. This teſt is frequently adminiſtered to their wives, on the ſuſpicion of infidelity, and the reſemblance which it bears to the trial of jealouſy by the *bitter water* deſcribed in the book of Numbers (chap. v.) is a curious and ſtriking circumſtance.

I now proceed to the people of Whidah, or Fida. The Negroes of this country are called generally in the Weſt Indies *Papaws*, and are unqueſtionably the moſt docile and beſt diſpoſed Slaves that are imported from any part of Africa. Without the fierce and ſavage manners of the Koromantyn Negroes, they are alſo happily exempt from the timid and deſponding temper of the Eboes, who will preſently be mentioned.—The cheerful acquieſcence with which theſe people apply to the labours of the field, and their conſtitutional

BOOK IV.

ſtitutional aptitude for ſuch employment, ariſe, without doubt, from the great attention paid to agriculture in their native country. Boſman ſpeaks with rapture of the improved ſtate of the ſoil, the number of villages, and the induſtry, riches, and obliging manners of the Natives. He obſerves, however, that they are much greater thieves than thoſe of the Gold Coaſt, and very unlike them in another reſpect, namely, in the dread of pain, and the apprehenſion of death.—"They are," ſays he, "ſo very apprehenſive of death, that they are unwilling to hear it mentioned, for fear *that* alone ſhould haſten their end; and no man dares to ſpeak of death in the preſence of the king, or any great man, under the penalty of ſuffering it himſelf, as a puniſhment for his preſumption." He relates further, that they are addicted to gaming beyond any people of Africa. All theſe propenſities, if I am rightly informed, are obſervable in the character of the Papaws in a ſtate of ſlavery in the Weſt Indies. That puniſhment which excites the Koromantyn to rebel, and drives the Ebo Negro to ſuicide, is received by the Papaws as the chaſtiſement of legal authority, to which it is their duty to ſubmit patiently. The caſe ſeems to be, that the generality of theſe people are in a ſtate of abſolute ſlavery in Africa, and, having been habituated to a life of labour, they ſubmit to a change of ſituation with little reluctance.

Many of the Whidah Negroes are found to be circumciſed. Whether it be a religious ceremony common to all the tribes that go under the appellation of Papaws, I know not. It is practiſed univerſally by the *Nagoes*; a people that ſpeak the Whidah language; but I have met with Negroes from this part of the coaſt that diſavow the practice.

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CHAP. III.

We are now come to the Bight of Benin, comprehending an extent of coaſt of near 300 Engliſh leagues, of which the interior countries are unknown, even by name, to the people of Europe. All the Negroes imported from theſe vaſt and unexplored regions, except a tribe which are diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Mocoes*, are called in the Weſt Indies *Eboes*; and in general they appear to be the loweſt and moſt wretched of all the nations of Africa. In complexion they are much yellower than the Gold Coaſt and Whidah Negroes; but it is a ſickly hue, and their eyes appear as if ſuffuſed with bile, even when they are in perfect health. I cannot help obſerving too, that the conformation of the face, in a great majority of them, very much reſembles that of the baboon. I believe indeed there is, in moſt of the nations of Africa, a greater elongation of the lower jaw, than among the people of Europe; but this diſtinction I think is more viſible among the Eboes, than in any other Africans. I mean not however to draw any concluſion of natural inferiority in theſe people to the reſt of the human race, from a circumſtance which perhaps is purely accidental, and no more to be conſidered as a proof of degradation, than the red hair and high cheek bones of the Natives of the North of Europe.

The great objection to the Eboes as ſlaves, is their conſtitutional timidity, and deſpondency of mind; which are ſo great as to occaſion them very frequently to ſeek, in a voluntary death, a refuge from their own melancholy reflections. They require therefore the gentleſt and mildeſt treatment to reconcile them to their ſituation; but if their confidence be once obtained, they manifeſt as great fidelity, affection, and gratitude,

BOOK IV.

as can reaſonably be expected from men in a ſtate of ſlavery. The females of this nation are better labourers than the men, probably from having been more hardly treated in Africa.

The depreſſion of ſpirits which theſe people ſeem to be under, on their firſt arrival in the Weſt Indies, gives them an air of ſoftneſs and ſubmiſſion, which forms a ſtriking contraſt to the frank and fearleſs temper of the Koromantyn Negroes. Nevertheleſs, the Eboes are in fact more truly ſavage than any nation of the Gold Coaſt; inaſmuch as many tribes among them, eſpecially the Moco tribe, have been, without doubt, accuſtomed to the ſhocking practice of feeding on human fleſh. This circumſtance I have had atteſted beyond the poſſibility of diſpute, by an intelligent truſt-worthy domeſtic of the Ebo nation, who acknowledged to me, though with evident ſhame and reluctance (having lived many years among the Whites) that he had himſelf, in his youth, frequently regaled on this horrid banquet: and his account received a ſhocking confirmation from a circumſtance which occurred in the year 1779 in Antigua, where two Negroes of the ſame country were tried for killing and devouring one of their fellow-ſlaves in that iſland. They were purchaſed, a ſhort time before, by a gentleman of the name of Chriſtian, out of a ſhip from Old Calabar, and I am told were convicted on the cleareſt evidence.

Of the religious opinions and modes of worſhip of the Eboes, we know but little; except that, like the inhabitants of Whidah, they pay adoration to certain reptiles, of which the guana (a ſpecies of lizard) is in the higheſt eſtimation *. They

* I have been aſſured by an intelligent perſon who had viſited many parts of Africa, that the Eboes frequently offer up

They univerſally practiſe circumciſion, "which with ſome other of their ſuperſtitions (ſays Purchas) may ſeem Mahometan, but are more likely to be ancient Ethnic rites; for many countries of Africa admit circumciſion, and yet know not, or acknowledge not, Mahometiſm; but are either Chriſtians, as the Cophti, Abiſſinians, or Gentiles. They (the people of Benin) cut or raſe the ſkin with three lines drawn to the navel, eſteeming it neceſſary to ſalvation." CHAP. III.

Next in order to the Whidah Negroes, are thoſe from Congo and Angola; whom I conſider to have been originally the ſame people. I can ſay but little of them that is appropriate and particular; except that they are in general a ſlender and ſightly race, of a deep and gloſſy black (a tribe of the Congoes excepted, who very nearly reſemble the Eboes) and I believe of a diſpoſition naturally mild and docile. They appear to me to be fitter for domeſtic ſervice than for field-labour. They are ſaid however to become expert mechanics; and, what is much to their honour, they

up human ſacrifices in their worſhip of this animal. Perhaps the certainty of this may be queſtioned; but the following anecdote is undoubtedly true. In the year 1787, two of the ſeamen of a Liverpool ſhip trading at Bonny, being aſhore watering, had the misfortune to kill a guana, as they were rolling a caſk to the beach. An outcry was immediately raiſed among the Natives, and the boat's crew were ſurrounded and ſeized, and all trade interdicted, until public juſtice ſhould be ſatisfied and appeaſed. The offenders being carried before the king, or chief man of the place, were adjudged to die. However, the ſeverity of juſtice being ſoftened by a bribe from the captain, the ſentence was at length changed to the following, that they ſhould pay a fine of 700 bars (about £.175) and remain in the country as ſlaves to the king, until the money ſhould be raiſed. The captain not being willing to advance ſo large a ſum for the redemption of theſe poor wretches, ſailed without them, and what became of them afterwards, I have not heard.

are

BOOK IV.

are ſuppoſed to be more ſtrictly honeſt than many other of the African tribes.

Having thus recited ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me on contemplating the various African nations in the Weſt Indies ſeparately and diſtinct from each other, I ſhall now attempt an eſtimate of their general character and diſpoſitions, influenced, as undoubtedly they are in a great degree, by their ſituation and condition in a ſtate of ſlavery; circumſtances that ſoon efface the native original impreſſion which diſtinguiſhes one nation from another in Negroes newly imported, and create a ſimilitude of manners, and a uniformity of character throughout the whole body.

Thus, notwithſtanding what has been related of the firmneſs and courage of the natives of the Gold-Coaſt, it is certain that the Negroes in general in our iſlands (ſuch of them at leaſt as have been any length of time in a ſtate of ſervitude) are of a diſtruſtful and cowardly diſpoſition. So degrading is the nature of ſlavery, that fortitude of mind is loſt as free agency is reſtrained. To the ſame cauſe probably muſt be imputed their propenſity to conceal or violate the truth; which is ſo general, that I think the vice of falſehood is one of the moſt prominent features in their character. If a Negro is aſked even an indifferent queſtion by his maſter, he ſeldom gives an immediate reply; but affecting not to underſtand what is ſaid, compels a repetition of the queſtion, that he may have time to conſider, not what is the true anſwer, but, what is the moſt politic one for him to give. The proneneſs obſervable in many of them to the vice of theft, has already been noticed; and I am afraid that evil communication makes it almoſt general.

It

It is no eaſy matter, I confeſs, to diſcriminate thoſe circumſtances which are the reſult of proximate cauſes, from thoſe which are the effects of national cuſtoms and early habits in ſavage life; but I am afraid that cowardice and diſſimulation have been the properties of ſlavery in all ages, and will continue to be ſo, to the end of the world. It is a ſituation that neceſſarily ſuppreſſes many of the beſt affections of the human heart. —If it calls forth any latent virtues, they are thoſe of ſympathy and compaſſion towards perſons in the ſame condition of life; and accordingly we find that the Negroes in general are ſtrongly attached to their countrymen, but above all, to ſuch of their companions as came in the ſame ſhip with them from Africa. This is a ſtriking circumſtance: the term *ſhipmate* is underſtood among them as ſignifying a relationſhip of the moſt endearing nature; perhaps as recalling the time when the ſufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal ſympathy, from the remembrance of mutual affliction.

But their benevolence, with a very few exceptions, extends no further. The ſofter virtues are ſeldom found in the boſom of the enſlaved African. Give him ſufficient authority, and he becomes the moſt remorſeleſs of tyrants. Of all the degrees of wretchedneſs endured by the ſons of men, the greateſt, aſſuredly, is the miſery which is felt by thoſe who are unhappily doomed to be the Slaves of Slaves; a moſt unnatural relation, which ſometimes takes place in the ſugar plantations, as for inſtance, when it is found neceſſary to inſtruct young Negroes in certain trades or handicraft employments. In thoſe caſes it is uſual to place them in a ſort of apprenticeſhip to ſuch of

BOOK IV.

the old Negroes as are competent to give them inſtruction; but the harſhneſs with which theſe people enforce their authority, is extreme; and it ſerves in ſome degree to leſſen the indignation which a good mind neceſſarily feels at the abuſes of power by the Whites, to obſerve that the Negroes themſelves, when inveſted with command, give full play to their revengeful paſſions; and exerciſe all the wantonneſs of cruelty without reſtraint or remorſe.

The ſame obſervation may be made concerning their conduct towards the animal creation. Their treatment of cattle under their direction is brutal beyond belief. Even the uſeful and ſocial qualities of the dog ſecure to him no kind uſage from an African maſter. Although there is ſcarce a Negro that is not attended by one, they ſeem to maintain theſe poor animals ſolely for the purpoſe of having an object whereon to exerciſe their caprice and cruelty. And by the way, it is a ſingular circumſtance, and not the leſs true for being ſomewhat ludicrous, that the animal itſelf, when the property of a Negro, betrays at firſt ſight to whom he belongs; for, loſing his playful propenſities, he ſeems to feel the inferiority of his condition, and actually crouches before ſuch of his own ſpecies, as are uſed to better company. With the manners, he acquires alſo the cowardly, thieviſh, and ſullen diſpoſition of his African tyrant.

But, notwithſtanding what has been related of the ſelfiſh and unrelenting temper of the enſlaved Africans, they are ſaid to be highly ſuſceptible of the paſſion of love. It has even been ſuppoſed that they are more ſubject to, and ſenſible of its impreſſion, than the natives of colder climates. "The Negro (ſays Dr. Robertſon) glows

glows with all the warmth of deſire natural to his climate." "The tender paſſion (ſays another writer) is the moſt ardent one in the breaſt of the enſlaved African.—It is the only ſource of his joys, and his only ſolace in affliction." Monſieur de Chanvalon (the hiſtorian of Martinico) expatiates on the ſame idea with great eloquence.—"Love, ſays he, the child of nature, to whom ſhe entruſts her own preſervation; whoſe progreſs no difficulties can retard, and who triumphs even in chains; that principle of life, as neceſſary to the harmony of the univerſe, as the air which we breathe, inſpires and invigorates all the thoughts and purpoſes of the Negro, and lightens the yoke of his ſlavery. No perils can abate, nor impending puniſhments reſtrain, the ardour of his paſſion.—He leaves his maſter's habitation, and traverſing the wilderneſs by night, diſregarding its noxious inhabitants, ſeeks a refuge from his ſorrows, in the boſom of his faithful and affectionate miſtreſs." CHAR. III.

All this however is the language of poetry and the viſions of romance. The poor Negro has no leiſure in a ſtate of ſlavery to indulge a paſſion, which, however deſcended, is nouriſhed by idleneſs. If by love, is meant the tender attachment to one individual object, which, in civilized life, is deſire heightened by ſentiment, and refined by delicacy, I doubt if it ever found a place in an African boſom.—The Negroes in the Weſt Indies, both men and women, would conſider it as the greateſt exertion of tyranny, and the moſt cruel of all hardſhips, to be compelled to confine themſelves to a ſingle connection with the other ſex; and I am perſuaded that any attempt to reſtrain their preſent licentious and diſſolute manners, by introducing the marriage ceremony among them,

as

BOOK IV. as is ſtrenuouſly recommended by many perſons in Great Britain, would be utterly impracticable to any good purpoſe. Perhaps it may be thought that the Negroes are not altogether reduced to ſo deplorable a ſtate of ſlavery, as is commonly repreſented, when it is known that they boldly claim and exerciſe a right of diſpoſing of themſelves in this reſpect, according to their own will and pleaſure, without any controul from their maſters.

That paſſion therefore to which (dignified by the name of Love) is aſcribed the power of ſoftening all the miſeries of ſlavery, is mere animal deſire, implanted by the great Author of all things for the preſervation of the ſpecies. This the Negroes, without doubt, poſſeſs in common with the reſt of the animal creation, and they indulge it, as inclination prompts, in an almoſt promiſcuous intercourſe with the other ſex; or at leaſt in temporary connections, which they form without ceremony, and diſſolve without reluctance. When age indeed begins to mitigate the ardour, and leſſen the fickleneſs of youth, many of them form attachments, which, ſtrengthened by habit, and endeared by the conſciouſneſs of mutual imbecility, produce a union for life. It is not uncommon to behold a venerable couple of this ſtamp, who, tottering under the load of years, contribute to each other's comfort, with a cheerful aſſiduity which is at once amiable and affecting.

The ſituation of the aged among the Negroes is indeed commonly ſuch as to make them ſome amends for the hardſhips and ſufferings of their youth. The labour required of the men is ſeldom any thing more than to guard the proviſion grounds; and the women are chiefly employed in

in attending the children, in nurſing the ſick, or in other eaſy avocations; but their happineſs chiefly ariſes from the high veneration in which old age is held by the Negroes in general, and this I conſider as one of the few pleaſing traits in their character. In addreſſing ſuch of their fellow ſervants as are any ways advanced in years, they preſix to their names the appellation of Parent, as *Ta* Quaco, and *Ma* Quaſheba; *Ta* and *Ma*, ſignifying Father and Mother, by which deſignation they mean to convey not only the idea of filial reverence, but alſo that of eſteem and fondneſs. Neither is the regard thus diſplayed towards the aged, confined to outward ceremonies and terms of reſpect alone. It is founded on an active principle of native benevolence, furniſhing one of the few exceptions to their general unrelenting and ſelfiſh character. The whole body of Negroes on a plantation muſt be reduced to a deplorable ſtate of wretchedneſs, if, at any time, they ſuffer their aged companions to want the common neceſſaries of life, or even many of its comforts, as far as they can procure them. They ſeem to me to be actuated on theſe occaſions by a kind of involuntary impulſe, operating as a primitive law of nature, which ſcorns to wait the cold dictates of reaſon: among them, it is the exerciſe of a common duty, which courts no obſervation, and looks for no applauſe *.

CHAP. III.

Among other propenſities and qualities of the Negroes muſt not be omitted their loquaciouſneſs. They are as fond of exhibiting ſet ſpeeches, as orators by profeſſion; but it requires a conſider-

* The greateſt affront (ſays Mr. Long) that can be offered to a Negro, is to curſe his father and mother, or any of his progenitors.

able

BOOK IV.

able ſhare of patience to hear them throughout; for they commonly make a long preface before they come to the point; beginning with a tedious enumeration of their paſt ſervices and hardſhips. They dwell with peculiar energy (if the fact admits it) on the number of children they have preſented to *Maſſa (Maſter)* after which they recapitulate ſome of the inſtances of particular kindneſs ſhewn them by their owner or employer, adducing theſe alſo, as proofs of their own merit; it being evident, they think, that no ſuch kindneſs can be gratuitous. This is their uſual exordium, as well when they bring complaints againſt others, as when they are called upon to defend themſelves; and it is in vain to interrupt either plaintiff or defendant. Yet I have ſometimes heard them convey much ſtrong meaning in a narrow compaſs: I have been ſurpriſed by ſuch figurative expreſſions, and (notwithſtanding their ignorance of abſtract terms) ſuch pointed ſentences, as would have reflected no diſgrace on poets and philoſophers. One inſtance recurs to my memory, of ſo ſignificant a turn of expreſſion in a common labouring Negro, who could have had no opportunity of improvement from the converſation of White people, as is alone, I think, ſufficient to demonſtrate that Negroes have minds very capable of obſervation. It was a ſervant who had brought me a letter, and, while I was preparing an anſwer, had, through wearineſs and fatigue, fallen aſleep on the floor: as ſoon as the papers were ready, I directed him to be awakened; but this was no eaſy matter. When the Negro who attempted to awake him, exclaimed in the uſual jargon, *You no hear Maſſa call you?* that is, Don't you hear your Maſter call you? *Sleep*, replied the poor fellow, looking up, and returning compoſedly to his

his ſlumbers, *Sleep hab no Maſſa.* (Sleep has no Maſter.) CHAP. III.

Of thoſe imitative arts in which perfection can be attained only in an improved ſtate of ſociety, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the Negroes have but little knowledge. An opinion prevails in Europe that they poſſeſs organs peculiarly adapted to the ſcience of muſic; but this I believe is an ill-founded idea. In vocal harmony they diſplay neither variety nor compaſs. Nature ſeems in this reſpect to have dealt more penuriouſly by them than towards the reſt of the human race. As practical muſicians, ſome of them, by great labour and careful inſtruction, become ſufficiently expert to bear an under part in a public concert; but I do not recollect ever to have ſeen or heard of a Negro who could truly be called a fine performer on any capital inſtrument. In general they prefer a loud and long-continued noiſe to the fineſt harmony, and frequently conſume the whole night *in beating on a board with a ſtick.* This is in fact one of their chief muſical inſtruments; beſides which, they have the *Banja* or *Merriwang*, the *Dundo*, and the *Goombay*; all of African origin. The firſt is an imperfect kind of violincello; except that it is played on by the finger like the guitar; producing a diſmal monotony of four notes. The Dundo is preciſely a tabor; and the Goombay is a ruſtic drum; being formed of the trunk of a hollow tree, one end of which is covered with a ſheep's ſkin. From ſuch inſtruments nothing like a regular time can be expected, nor is it attempted.

Their ſongs are commonly *impromptu*, and there are among them individuals who reſemble the *improviſatore*, or extempore bards, of Italy; but I cannot ſay much for their poetry. Their tunes in general are characteriſtic of their national

BOOK IV.

tional manners; thoſe of the Eboes being ſoft and languiſhing; of the Koromantyns heroic and martial. At the ſame time, there is obſervable, in moſt of them, a predominant melancholy, which, to a man of feeling, is ſometimes very affecting.

At their merry meetings, and midnight feſtivals, they are not without ballads of another kind, adapted to ſuch occaſions; and here they give full ſcope to a talent for ridicule and deriſion, which is exerciſed not only againſt each other, but alſo, not unfrequently, at the expence of their owner or employer; but moſt part of their ſongs at theſe places are fraught with obſcene ribaldry, and accompanied with dances in the higheſt degree licentious and wanton.

At other times, more eſpecially at the burial of ſuch among them as were reſpected in life, or venerable through age, they exhibit a ſort of *Pyrrhic* or warlike dance, in which their bodies are ſtrongly agitated by running, leaping, and jumping, with many violent and frantic geſtures and contortions. Their funeral ſongs too are all of the heroic or martial caſt; affording ſome colour to the prevalent notion that the Negroes conſider death not only as a welcome and happy releaſe from the calamities of their condition, but alſo as a paſſport to the place of their nativity; a deliverance which, while it frees them from bondage, reſtores them to the ſociety of their deareſt, long-loſt, and lamented relatives in Africa. But I am afraid that this, like other European notions concerning the Negroes, is the dream of poetry; the ſympathetic effuſion of a fanciful or too credulous an imagination *. The Negroes,

* Perhaps it was ſome ſuch imagination that gave riſe to the following little poem, now publiſhed for the firſt time—the production

Negroes, in general, are ſo far from courting death, that, among ſuch of them as have reſided any length of time in the Weſt Indies, ſuicide is CHAP. III.

duction of early youth; but ſurely if the fond idea of returning to their native country could afford the poor Negroes comfort and conſolation in death, it were to be wiſhed that it really prevailed among them.

ODE ON SEEING A NEGRO-FUNERAL.

Mahali dies! O'er yonder plain
His bier is borne: The ſable train
By youthful virgins led:
Daughters of injur'd Afric, ſay
Why raiſe ye thus th' heroic lay,
Why triumph o'er the dead?

No tear bedews their fixed eye;
'Tis now the hero lives, they cry;—
Releas'd from ſlav'ry's chain:
Beyond the billowy ſurge he flies,
And joyful views his native ſkies,
And long-loſt bowers again.

On Koromantyn's palmy ſoil
Heroic deeds and martial toil,
Shall fill each glorious day;
Love, fond and faithful, crown thy nights,
And bliſs unbought, unmix'd delights,
Paſt cruel wrongs repay.

Nor lordly pride's ſtern avarice there,
Alone ſhall nature's bounties ſhare;
To all her children free.—
For thee, the dulcet Reed ſhall ſpring
His balmy bowl the Coco bring,
Th' Anana bloom for thee.

The thunder hark! 'Tis Afric's God,
He wakes, he lifts th' avenging rod,
And ſpeeds th' impatient hours:
From Niger's golden ſtream he calls;
Fair freedom comes,—oppreſſion falls;
And vengeance yet is ours!

BOOK IV.

is much leſs frequent than among the free-born, happy, and civilized inhabitants of Great Britain. With them, equally with the Whites, nature ſhrinks back at approaching diſſolution; and when, at any time, ſudden or untimely death overtakes any of their companions, inſtead of rejoicing at ſuch an event, they never fail to impute it to the malicious contrivances and diabolical arts of ſome practitioners in *Obeah*, a term of African origin, ſignifying ſorcery or witchcraft, the prevalence of which, among many of their countrymen, all the Negroes moſt firmly and implicitly believe. We may conclude, therefore, that their funeral ſongs and ceremonies are commonly nothing more than the diſſonance of ſavage barbarity and riot; as remote from the fond ſuperſtition to which they are aſcribed, as from the ſober dictates of a rational ſorrow.

Having mentioned the practice of *Obeah*, the influence of which has ſo powerful an effect on the Negroes, as to bias, in a conſiderable degree, their general conduct, diſpoſitions, and manners, I ſhall conclude the preſent chapter by preſenting to my readers the following very curious account of this extraordinary ſuperſtition, and its effects: it was tranſmitted by the Agent of Jamaica to

Now, Chriſtian, now, in wild diſmay,
Of Afric's proud revenge the prey,
Go roam th' affrighted wood;—
Transform'd to tigers, fierce and fell,
Thy race ſhall prowl with ſavage yell,
And glut their rage for blood!

But ſoft,—beneath yon tam'rind ſhade,
Now let the hero's limbs be laid;
Sweet ſlumbers bleſs the brave:
There ſhall the breezes ſhed perfume,
Nor livid lightnings blaſt the bloom
That decks Mahali's grave.

the

the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council, and by them ſubjoined to their report on the ſlave trade; and, if I miſtake not, the public are chiefly indebted for it to the diligent reſearches, and accurate pen, of Mr. Long. CHAP. III.

"The term *Obeah*, *Obiah*, or *Obia* (for it is variouſly written) we conceive to be the adjective, and *Obe* or *Obi* the noun ſubſtantive; and that by the words *Obia*-men or women, are meant thoſe who practiſe *Obi*. The origin of the term we ſhould conſider as of no importance in our anſwer to the queſtions propoſed, if, in ſearch of it, we were not led to diſquiſitions that are highly gratifying to curioſity. From the learned Mr. Bryant's * Commentary upon the word *Oph*, we obtain a very probable etymology of the term—"A "ſerpent in the Egyptian language, was called "*Ob* or *Aub*."—"*Obion* is ſtill the Egyptian name "for a ſerpent."—"Moſes, in the name of God, "forbids the Iſraelites ever to enquire of the de-"mon *Ob*, which is tranſlated in our Bible Char-"mer, or Wizard, Divinator, aut Sorcilegus."—"The woman at Endor is called *Ouh* or *Ob*, "tranſlated Pythoniſſa; and *Oubaios* (he cites "from *Horus Apollo*) was the name of the Baſiliſk "or Royal Serpent, emblem of the ſun, and an "ancient oracular Deity of Africa." This derivation, which applies to one particular ſect, the remnant probably of a very celebrated religious order in remote ages, is now become in Jamaica the general term to denote thoſe Africans who in that iſland practiſe witchcraft or ſorcery, comprehending alſo the claſs of what are called Myal-men, or thoſe who, by means of a narcotic potion, made with the juice of an herb (ſaid to be

* Mythology, vol. i. p. 48, 475, and 478.

BOOK IV.

the branched *Calalue* or ſpecies of *Solanum)* which occaſions a trance or profound ſleep of a certain duration, endeavour to convince the deluded ſpectators of their power to re-animate dead bodies.

"As far as we are able to decide from our own experience and information when we lived in the iſland, and from the current teſtimony of all the Negroes we have ever converſed with on the ſubject, the profeſſors of *Obi* are, and always were, natives of Africa, and none other; and they have brought the ſcience with them from thence to Jamaica, where it is ſo univerſally practiſed, that we believe there are few of the large eſtates poſſeſſing native Africans, which have not one or more of them. The oldeſt and moſt crafty are thoſe who uſually attract the greateſt devotion and confidence; thoſe whoſe hoary heads, and a ſomewhat peculiarly harſh and forbidding in their aſpect, together with ſome ſkill in plants of the medicinal and poiſonous ſpecies, have qualified them for ſucceſsful impoſition upon the weak and credulous. The Negroes in general, whether Africans or Creoles, revere, conſult, and fear them; to theſe oracles they reſort, and with the moſt implicit faith, upon all occaſions, whether for the cure of diſorders, the obtaining revenge for injuries or inſults, the conciliating of favour, the diſcovery and puniſhment of the thief or the adulterer, and the prediction of future events.—The trade which theſe impoſtors carry on is extremely lucrative; they manufacture and ſell their *Obies* adapted to different caſes and at different prices. A veil of myſtery is ſtudiouſly thrown over their incantations, to which the midnight hours are allotted, and every precaution is taken to conceal them from the knowledge and diſcovery

very of the White people. The deluded Negroes, who thoroughly believe in their ſupernatural power, become the willing accomplices in this concealment, and the ſtouteſt among them tremble at the very ſight of the ragged bundle, the bottle or the egg-ſhells, which are ſtuck in the thatch or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plantain tree, to deter marauders. In caſes of poiſon, the natural effects of it are by the ignorant Negroes, aſcribed entirely to the potent workings of *Obi*. The wiſer Negroes heſitate to reveal their ſuſpicions, through a dread of incurring the terrible vengeance which is fulminated by the *Obeah-men* againſt any who ſhould betray them; it is very difficult therefore for the White proprietor to diſtinguiſh the *Obeah profeſſor* from any other Negro upon his plantation; and ſo infatuated are the Blacks in general, that but few inſtances occur of their having aſſumed courage enough to impeach theſe miſcreants. With minds ſo firmly prepoſſeſſed, they no ſooner find the *Obi ſet for them* near the door of their houſe, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themſelves up for loſt. When a Negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he applies directly to the *Obeah* man or woman; it is then made known among his fellow Blacks, that *Obi is ſet* for the thief; and as ſoon as the latter hears the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, no reſource is left but in the ſuperior ſkill of ſome more eminent *Obeah-man* of the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability, or if after gaining ſuch an ally he ſhould ſtill fancy himſelf affected, he preſently falls into a decline, under the inceſſant horror of impending calamities. The ſlighteſt painful ſenſation

CHAP. III.

BOOK IV.

ſation in the head, the bowels, or any other part, any caſual loſs or hurt, confirms his apprehenſions, and he believes himſelf the devoted victim of an inviſible and irreſiſtible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulneſs, forſake him; his ſtrength decays, his diſturbed imagination is haunted without reſpite, his features wear the ſettled gloom of deſpondency: dirt, or any other unwholeſome ſubſtance, become his only food, he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually ſinks into the grave. A Negro, who is taken ill, enquires of the *Obeah-man* the cauſe of his ſickneſs, whether it will prove mortal or not, and within what time he ſhall die or recover? The oracle generally aſcribes the diſtemper to the malice of ſome particular perſon by name, and adviſes to ſet *Obi* for that perſon; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate deſpair takes place, which no medicine can remove, and death is the certain conſequence. Thoſe anomalous ſymptoms which originate from cauſes deeply rooted in the mind, ſuch as the terrors of *Obi*, or from poiſons, whoſe operation is ſlow and intricate, will baffle the ſkill of the ableſt phyſician.

" Conſidering the multitude of occaſions which may provoke the Negroes to exerciſe the powers of *Obi* againſt each other, and the aſtoniſhing influence of this ſuperſtition upon their minds, we cannot but attribute a very conſiderable portion of the annual mortality among the Negroes of Jamaica to this faſcinating miſchief.

" The *Obi* is uſually compoſed of a farrago of materials, moſt of which are enumerated in the Jamaica law *, viz. " Blood, feathers, parrot's " beaks, dog's teeth, alligator's teeth, broken " bottles, grave-dirt, rum, and egg-ſhells."

* Paſſed 1760.

" With

" With a view to illuſtrate the deſcription we have given of this practice, and its common effects, we have ſubjoined a few examples out of the very great number which have occurred in Jamaica; not that they are peculiar to that iſland only, for we believe ſimilar examples may be found in other Weſt India colonies. *Pere Labat*, in his Hiſtory of Martinico, has mentioned ſome which are very remarkable *.

" It may ſeem extraordinary, that a practice alledged to be ſo frequent in Jamaica ſhould not have received an earlier check from the legiſlature. The truth is, that the ſkill of ſome Negroes in the art of poiſoning has been noticed ever ſince the coloniſts became much acquainted with them. Sloane and Barham, who practiſed phyſic in Jamaica in the laſt century, have mentioned particular inſtances of it. The ſecret and inſidious manner in which this crime is generally perpetrated, makes the legal proof of it extremely difficult. Suſpicions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare: theſe murderers have *ſometimes* been brought to juſtice, but it is reaſonable to believe that a far greater number have eſcaped with impunity. In regard to the other and more common tricks of *Obi*, ſuch as hanging up feathers, bottles, eggſhells, &c. &c. in order to intimidate Negroes of a thieviſh diſpoſition from plundering huts, hog-ſtyes, or proviſion-grounds, theſe were laughed at by the White inhabitants as harmleſs ſtratagems, contrived by the more ſagacious, for deterring the more ſimple and ſuperſtitious Blacks, and ſerving for much the ſame purpoſe as the ſcare-crows which are in general uſed among our Engliſh farmers and gardeners. But in the year 1760, when a very formidable

* Tome ii. p. 59. 447. 499. 506.

inſurrection

BOOK IV.

insurrection of the Koromantyn or Gold Coast Negroes broke out in the parish of St. Mary, and spread through almost every other district of the island, an old Koromantyn Negroe, the chief instigator and oracle of the insurgents in that parish, who had administered the Fetish or solemn oath to the conspirators, and furnished them with a magical preparation which was to render them invulnerable, was fortunately apprehended, convicted, and hung up with all his feathers and trumperies about him; and his execution struck the insurgents with a general panic, from which they never afterwards recovered. The examinations which were taken at that period first opened the eyes of the public to the very dangerous tendency of the *Obeah* practices, and gave birth to the law which was then enacted for their suppression and punishment. But neither the terror of this law, the strict investigation which has ever since been made after the professors of *Obi*, nor the many examples of those who from time to time have been hanged or transported, have hitherto produced the desired effect. We conclude, therefore, that either this sect, like others in the world, has flourished under persecution; or that fresh supplies are annually introduced from the African seminaries.

The following is the paper referred to in the preceding account.

OBEAH PRACTICE.

"We have the following narratives from a planter in Jamaica, a gentleman of the strictest veracity, who is now in London, and ready to attest the truth of them.

"Upon

CHAP. III.

" Upon returning to Jamaica in the year 1775, he found that a great many of his Negroes had died during his abſence; and that of ſuch as remained alive, at leaſt one half were debilitated, bloated, and in a very deplorable condition. The mortality continued after his arrival, and two or three were frequently buried in one day; others were taken ill, and began to decline under the ſame ſymptoms. Every means were tried by medicines, and the moſt careful nurſing, to preſerve the lives of the feebleſt, but in ſpite of all his endeavours, this depopulation went on for above a twelvemonth longer, with more or leſs intermiſſion, and without his being able to aſcertain the real cauſe, though the *Obeah practice* was ſtrongly ſuſpected, as well by himſelf as by the doctor and other White perſons upon the plantation, as it was known to have been very common in that part of the iſland, and particulary among the Negroes of the *Papa* or *Popo* country. Still he was unable to verify his ſuſpicions, becauſe the patients conſtantly denied their having any thing to do with perſons of that order, or any knowledge of them. At length a Negreſs, who had been ill for ſome time, came one day and informed him, that feeling it was impoſſible for her to live much longer, ſhe thought herſelf bound in duty, before ſhe died, to impart a very great ſecret, and acquaint him with the true cauſe of her diſorder, in hopes that the diſcloſure might prove the means of ſtopping that miſchief, which had already ſwept away ſuch a number of her fellow-ſlaves. She proceeded to ſay, that her ſtep-mother (a woman of the *Popo* country, above eighty years old, but ſtill hale and active) had put *Obi upon her*, as ſhe had alſo done upon thoſe who had lately died; and that the old woman had

BOOK IV.

had practiſed *Obi* for as many years paſt as ſhe could remember.

"The other Negroes of the plantation no ſooner heard of this impeachment, than they ran in a body to their maſter, and confirmed the truth of it, adding, that ſhe had carried on this buſineſs ever ſince her arrival from Africa, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood.—Upon this he repaired directly, with ſix White ſervants, to the old woman's houſe, and forcing open the door, obſerved the whole inſide of the roof (which was of thatch) and every crevice of the walls, ſtuck with the implements of her trade, conſiſting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thouſand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, cloſe covered, was found concealed under her bed.—It contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay of various dimenſions, large and ſmall, whitened on the outſide, and variouſly compounded, ſome with hair and rags or feathers of all ſorts, and ſtrongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper ſection of the ſkulls of cats, or ſtuck round with cats teeth and claws, or with human or dogs teeth, and ſome glaſs beads of different colours; there were alſo a great many eggſhells filled with a viſcous or gummy ſubſtance, the qualities of which he neglected to examine, and many little bags ſtuffed with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot at this diſtance of time be recollected. The houſe was inſtantly pulled down, and with the whole of its contents committed to the flames, amidſt the general acclamations of all his other Negroes. In regard to the old woman, he declined bringing her to trial under the law of the iſland, which would have puniſhed her with death; but, from a principle of

of humanity, delivered her into the hands of a party of Spaniards, who (as ſhe was thought not incapable of doing ſome trifling kind of work) were very glad to accept and carry her with them to Cuba. From the moment of her departure his Negroes ſeemed all to be animated with new ſpirits, and the malady ſpread no farther among them. The total of his loſſes in the courſe of about fifteen years preceding the diſcovery, and imputable ſolely to the *Obeah practice*, he eſtimates, at leaſt, at one hundred Negroes."

OBEAH TRIALS.

"Having received ſome further information upon this ſubject from another Jamaica gentleman, who ſat upon *two* trials, we beg leave to deliver the ſame in his own words, as a ſupplement to what we have already had the honour of ſubmitting.

"In the year 1760, the influence of the profeſſors of the *Obeah art* was ſuch, as to induce a great many of the Negroe ſlaves in Jamaica to engage in the rebellion which happened in that year, and which gave riſe to the law which was then made againſt the practice of *Obi*.

"Aſſurance was given to theſe deluded people, that they were to become invulnerable; and in order to render them ſo, the *Obeah-men* furniſhed them with a powder, with which they were to rub themſelves.

"In the firſt engagement with the rebels, nine of them were killed, and many priſoners taken; amongſt the latter was one very intelligent fellow, who offered to diſcloſe many important matters, on

BOOK IV.

on condition that his life ſhould be ſpared; which was promiſed. He then related the active part which the Negroes, known among them by the name of *Obeah-men*, had taken in propagating the inſurrection; one of whom was thereupon apprehended, tried (for rebellious conſpiracy) convicted, and ſentenced to death.

N. B. This was the Koromantyn Obeah-man alluded to in our firſt paper.

"At the place of execution, he bid defiance to the executioner, telling him, that "It was not in the power of the White people to kill him."—And the Negroes (ſpectators) were greatly perplexed when they ſaw him expire. Upon other *Obeah-men*, who were apprehended at that time, various experiments were made with electrical machines and magic lanterns, but with very little effect, except on one, who, after receiving ſome very ſevere ſhocks, acknowledged that "his maſter's *Obi* exceeded his own."

"The gentleman from whom we have this account, remembers having ſat *twice* on trials of *Obeah-men*, who were both convicted of ſelling their *Obeah preparations*, which had occaſioned the death of the parties to whom they had been adminiſtered; notwithſtanding which, the lenity of their judges prevailed ſo far, that they were only puniſhed with tranſportation. To prove the fact, two witneſſes were deemed neceſſary, with corroborating circumſtances."

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Means of obtaining Slaves in Africa.—Obſervations thereon.—Objections to a direct and immediate abolition of the trade by the Britiſh Nation only.—The probable conſequences of ſuch a meaſure, both in Africa and the Weſt Indies, conſidered.—Diſproportions of ſexes in the number of Slaves annually exported from Africa.—Cauſes thereof.—Mode of tranſporting Negroes to the Weſt Indies, and regulations recently eſtabliſhed by act of parliament.—Effect of thoſe regulations.

IT hath been obſerved in the preceding chapter, that no certain and preciſe account is eaſily to be obtained of the means by which the market for ſlaves is annually kept up and ſupported in Africa. The ſeveral inſtances that are given of ſlavery, ariſing from captivity in war, delinquency and debt, ſeem inadequate to ſo regular and abundant a ſupply. It is difficult to imagine that caſual contributions of this kind, can poſſibly furniſh an annual export of 74,000 *. Having an opportu- CHAP. IV.

* Beſides which, great numbers are ſupplied from the nations bordering on the rivers of Senegal and Gambia, for the emperor of Morocco and the ſtates of Barbary. Caravans alſo travel from thence acroſs the continent to Upper Egypt with conſiderable ſupplies of Negroes, ſome of which are ſent afterwards to Conſtantinople. A very curious and intereſting account of this traffic is given in the Report of the Lords of the Privy Council. Great numbers of ſlaves are likewiſe ſent from Mozambique, and the ports on the eaſtern coaſt, to Perſia, Goa, and other parts of the Eaſt Indies. Hence it has been calculated that Africa is drained annually of not leſs than 150,000 of its natives.

nity,

BOOK IV.

nity, a few years ago, of conſulting a very intelligent perſon on this point, who had viſited many parts of the coaſt, and appeared to be a man of veracity and candour, I received from him, in writing, an anſwer, which I ſhall preſent to my readers *verbatim;* and ſubjoin ſuch further information as I have been able to collect. The anſwer which I received, was given in the words following:—"In all parts of the coaſt, and I apprehend it to be the ſame inland, the body of the people are in a ſtate of abſolute and unlimited ſlavery: their children are born to no other inheritance, and are liable to be ſold by their owners as they think proper. Moſt parts of the coaſt differ in their governments; ſome are abſolute monarchies, while others draw near to an ariſtocracy. In both, the authority of the chief or chiefs is unlimited, extending to life, and it is exercifed as often as criminal caſes require, unleſs death is commuted into ſlavery; in which caſe the offender is ſold, and if the ſhipping will not buy the criminal, he is immediately put to death. Fathers of free condition have power to ſell their children, but this power is but very ſeldom enforced. I never knew an inſtance of it but once, and then the father was ſo execrated by his neighbours, for the act of ſelling a ſon and daughter, that he ſhortly afterwards fell into a ſtate of deſpondency and died. The family was of ſome diſtinction, and the ſon and daughter were brought by a friendly captain, who I know afterwards gave freedom to one of them, and I believe he gave it to both. I never knew another inſtance of this kind, nor do I believe there is one ſlave in a thouſand procured in this way. Neither do I imagine that there are many procured by wars or inteſtine broils. The truth is, the bulk of the people

people are born ſlaves to great men, reared as ſuch, held as property, and as property ſold. There are indeed many circumſtances by which a free man may become a ſlave: ſuch as being in debt, and not able to pay; and in ſome of ſuch caſes, if the debt be large, not only the debtor, but his family likewiſe, become the ſlaves of his creditors, and may be ſold. Adultery is commonly puniſhed in the ſame manner; both the offending parties being ſold, and the purchaſe-money paid to the injured huſband. *Obi*, or pretended witchcraft (in which all the Negroes firmly believe, and it is generally accompanied with the crime of poiſoning) is another, and a very common offence, for which ſlavery is adjudged the lawful puniſhment; and it extends to all the family of the offender. There are various other crimes which ſubject the offender and his children to be ſold; and it is more than probable, that if there were no buyers, the poor wretches would be murdered without mercy."

Such is the account which I received, and it is confirmed by ſeveral of the witneſſes that were examined by the Committee of the Privy Council, and by others that appeared before the Houſe of Commons; but it is contradicted in ſome material circumſtances by other gentlemen, whoſe examinations were taken at the ſame time, and to whoſe authority much reſpect is due. Mr. Penny aſſerts, that although three-fourths of the inhabitants of the Windward Coaſt are ſlaves to the other fourth, yet that theſe local and domeſtic ſlaves are never ſold, unleſs for crimes. He is of opinion that in no country, either in the maritime diſtricts or in the interior parts of Africa, are ſlaves bred for ſale, but that moſt of thoſe which are diſpoſed of to the Europeans, are ſold in conſequence

BOOK IV. ſequence of delinquency, or captivity in war. The ſame, or nearly the ſame, account is given of the Fantyn nation by Mr. Norris; who obſerves, that "a conſiderable portion of the community are perſons born ſlaves, but that theſe have peculiar privileges, and enjoy many advantages, which the ſlaves of the neighbouring countries do not, and cannot be ſold at the caprice of their maſters." His opinion is, that the number of ſlaves furniſhed in the Fantyn country (about 2000 annually) is made up by delinquency and debt.

Under ſuch contradictory information, it occurred to me, during my reſidence in Jamaica, to examine many of the Negroes themſelves. I mean Negroes newly arrived from Africa; for from thoſe who have reſided any length of time in the Weſt Indies, it is difficult to obtain, even to enquiries of an indifferent nature, ſuch anſwers as carry with them conviction of their truth. It is ſeldom, for inſtance, that any Guiney Negro will acknowledge that he was in a ſtate of ſlavery in his native country. Obſerving the reſpect and preheminence allowed to wealth and conſequence among the Whites, and the privileges which attach to freedom in the Weſt Indies, among thoſe of his own colour who are born or rendered free, he is tempted, whether juſtly or not, to aſſert his claim to ſome degree of conſideration from his paſt, if not from his preſent condition; and it is a natural and excuſable propenſity. Conceiving therefore that the truth might be beſt obtained from Negroes recently imported, I enquired of many young people, from different parts of Africa, concerning the circumſtances of their captivity and ſale, and, having reduced their information to writing, I interrogated many of them again on the

the ſame ſubject, after an interval of ſeveral months. If the ſame account preciſely was given by the ſame people a ſecond time, I commonly conſidered it as grounded in truth. On other occaſions, I have examined brothers and ſiſters apart. If their information agreed in minute particulars, I could have no reaſon to ſuſpect them of falſehood. Of five-and-twenty young perſons of both ſexes whom I thus interrogated, fifteen frankly declared that they were born to ſlavery, and were either ſold to pay the debts, or bartered away to ſupply the wants of their owners. Five were ſecretly kidnapped in the interior country, and ſold to black merchants, who conveyed them from an immenſe diſtance to the ſea-coaſt, and ſold them to the ſhip-maſters that brought them to Jamaica. The other five appeared to have fallen victims in ſome of thoſe petty wars which it is probable rapacity and revenge reciprocally inſtigate throughout the whole continent of Africa *. On ſuch occaſions, the young and the

CHAP. IV.

* Perhaps the reader will not be diſpleaſed to be preſented with a few of theſe examinations, as they were taken down at the time, and without any view to publication.

Adam (a Congo) a boy as I gueſs about fourteen, his country name *Sarri*, came from a vaſt diſtance inland, was waylaid and ſtole, in the path about three miles from his own village, by one of his countrymen. It was early in the morning, and the man hid him all day in the woods, and marched him in the night. He was conducted in this manner for a month, and then ſold to another Black man for a gun, ſome powder and ſhot, and a quantity of ſalt. He was ſold a ſecond time for a keg of brandy. His laſt-mentioned purchaſer bought ſeveral other boys in the ſame manner, and when he had collected twenty, ſent them down to the ſea-coaſt, where they were ſold to a captain of a ſhip.' He relates further, that his father, *Scindia Quante*, was a chief or captain under the king, and a great warrior, and had taken many people, whom he ſold as ſlaves.

BOOK IV.

the able are carried into captivity by the victors, and the aged and infirm commonly murdered on the ſpot. By theſe means, and the commutation of death into ſlavery for crimes real and pretended, are the nations of Europe ſupplied; and it cannot

Quaw and *Quamina* (brothers) from the Gold Coaſt, one of them, as I gueſs, about twenty years old, the other eighteen, were born ſlaves to a man named *Banafou*, who had a great many other ſlaves, and ſold theſe two to the captain that brought them to Jamaica. On being aſked for what cauſe their maſter ſold them, they ſuppoſed the queſtion implied a charge againſt them of miſconduct, and one of them replied with great quickneſs, that they were not the only ſlaves that were ſold in Guiney without having been guilty of any crime: their maſter, they ſaid, owed money, and ſold them to pay his debts.

Aſiba, a Gold Coaſt girl, aged about fifteen, was a ſlave to a man named Quamina Yati. Her maſter ſold her and two others to the ſame captain, for a quantity of linen and other goods.

Yamouſa, a *Chamba* youth, about ſixteen, was a ſlave to a perſon named *Soubadou*; who ſold him, together with a cow, for a gun, a quantity of other goods, and ſome brandy.

Oliver, from *Aſſiantee*—his country name Sang—a young man, as I gueſs, about twenty-two or twenty-three years of age. His father was a free man, a carpenter—lived in a village far from the ſea. The village was attacked by a party of Fantees, who came in the night, and ſet fire to the houſes, and killed moſt of the inhabitants with guns and cutlaſſes—particularly the old. The young people they took priſoners, and afterwards ſold him and two others, for a piece of gold called *ſica*, to a Black merchant, who carried them to the Fantee country.—He was afterwards ſold or transferred over to ſix different Black purchaſers; the laſt of whom carried him down to the ſea-coaſt, and ſold him on board a ſhip.—Was much frightened at the ſight of White men, and thought he was to be eaten.

Eſther relates that ſhe was born in the Ebo country, about one day's journey from the ſea-coaſt, where her grandmother lived, to whom ſhe was ſent on a viſit by her father. While there, the village was attacked by a body of Negroes (ſhe knows not of what country, nor on what account) on whoſe approach ſhe and all the women were ſent into the woods, where

cannot ſurely be a queſtion, amongſt a humane and enlightened people, concerning the unlawfulneſs of a traffic thus ſupported. To attempt its defence in all caſes, were to offer an inſult to the common ſenſe of mankind, and an outrage on the beſt feelings of our nature. Yet a good mind may honeſtly derive ſome degree of conſolation in conſidering that all ſuch of the wretched victims as were ſlaves in Africa, are, by being ſold to the Whites, removed to a ſituation infinitely more deſirable, even in its worſt ſtate, than that of the beſt and moſt favoured ſlaves in their native country. It is, on all hands, admitted that the condition of thoſe poor people, under their own governments, is the moſt deplorable that we can conceive a human creature to be ſubject to. They have no ſecurity for property, nor protection for their perſons; they exiſt at the will and caprice of a maſter, who is not amenable to any law for his ill treatment of them, and who may ſlaughter them at his pleaſure. He has in truth but very little intereſt in their preſervation, having no means of employing them in profitable labour, and when proviſions are ſcarce, he has even a ſtrong inducement to deſtroy them. CHAP. IV.

The chief objection to the ſlave trade ariſes from the great encouragement which I fear it unavoidably holds forth to acts of violence, oppreſſion, and fraud among the natives towards each other. Without doubt, this is the ſtrong

where a party of the enemy found them, and carried away all ſuch as were able to travel. The old, and thoſe who were averſe to remove, were put to death; her grandmother among the reſt. The third day ſhe was ſold to the White people. She has many marks about the cheſt, which ſhe appeals to as a proof of free birth, and aſſerts that her father had a plantation of corn, yams, and tobacco, and poſſeſſed many ſlaves.

BOOK IV. part of the petitioners caſe; and I admit it to be ſo, with that frankneſs which I truſt no honeſt Weſt Indian will condemn. At the ſame time it deſerves very ſerious conſideration, whether a direct and immediate diſcontinuance of the trade by the Britiſh nation only (the other nations of Europe continuing to purchaſe as uſual) would afford a remedy to thoſe miſeries, the exiſtence of which every enlightened mind cannot but admit, and every good mind muſt deplore; or rather, whether a partial and ſudden abolition (ſo inveterate is the evil) would not aggravate them in a high degree.

In conſidering this queſtion, we muſt have in view not only the circumſtances attending the Slave Trade on the Coaſt, but alſo the ſituation of the enſlaved Negroes already in the Sugar Colonies. On the firſt head, it is to be enquired whether, ſuppoſing Great Britain ſhould abandon her ſhare in this commerce, a leſs number of ſlaves would in conſequence thereof be brought down for ſale in Africa? Admiral Edwards, who ſerved on the ſtation, and was on ſhore ſeven months at a time, is decidedly of opinion that, ſo long as other nations continue to purchaſe, the number would not be diminiſhed in the leaſt *; and a little reflection may perhaps convince us that his opinion is founded in reaſon, and the nature of the caſe. Among the commercial nations of Europe, it is true that, in moſt caſes of purchaſe and barter, the demand and the ſupply grow up together, and continue to regulate and ſupport each other: but theſe are the arrangements of well-informed and civiliſed men. In Africa, it is apprehended the ſlave merchants

* See his evidence in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council, 1789.

poſſeſs

poſſeſs no ideas of this kind, neither does the nature of their traffic allow of ſuch regulations. When two African ſtates are at war with each other, the aim of each undoubtedly is to deſtroy as many enemies, or ſeize on as great a number of captives, as poſſible. Of theſe laſt unfortunate victims, all ſuch as are able to travel, are commonly ſent down to the coaſt for ſale, the reſt are maſſacred on the ſpot, and the ſame fate attends thoſe unhappy wretches who, being ſent down, are found unſaleable. The prices indeed on the coaſt have been known to vary as the market is more or leſs plentifully ſupplied; but, ſo long as ſhips from Europe create a market, whether the prices be high or low, it can hardly be doubted that wars will be as frequent as ever, and that the ſame acts of oppreſſion, violence and fraud, which are ſaid to be committed by princes on their ſubjects, and by individuals on each other, for the purpoſe of procuring ſlaves for ſale, will exiſt as uſual, without regulation or reſtraint. CHAP. IV.

Behold then an exceſs of 38,000 of theſe miſerable people (the preſent annual export in Britiſh ſhipping) thrown upon the market, and it is ſurely more than probable that one or the other of theſe conſequences will follow: Either the French, the Dutch, and the other maritime nations of Europe, by ſeizing on what we ſurrender, will encreaſe their trade in proportion to the encreaſed ſupply *, or, having the choice and refuſal of 38,000 more than they have at preſent, will become more difficult to pleaſe; confining their purchaſes to ſuch

* Admiral Edwards being aſked, Whether, if Great Britain were to relinquiſh the trade in ſlaves, the number ſold to Europeans would, in his opinion, be much diminiſhed? replied, Moſt certainly it would not be diminiſhed. The French and Dutch would immediately get poſſeſſion of this trade.

only

BOOK IV.

only as are called prime ſlaves. Thus the old, and the very young, the ſickly and the feeble, will be ſcornfully rejected; and perhaps *twenty* poor wretches be conſidered as unſaleable then, and ſacrificed accordingly, to *one* that is ſo conſidered and ſacrificed now.

That this latter ſuppoſition is not a mere ſpeculative contingency, is abundantly proved by many reſpectable witneſſes, whoſe examinations were taken by the committee of the privy council:—Being aſked concerning the diſpoſal of ſuch ſlaves as are rejected by the European traders, either becauſe their cargoes are already aſſorted, or becauſe the miſerable victims are conſidered as too old or too feeble for labour, it was given in evidence, as a fact too notorious to be controverted, that they are very frequently, if not generally, put to death. The ſlave merchant, not having the means of maintaining his captives for any length of time, makes no ſcruple to avow that it is his intention to deſtroy them, provided they are not ſold by a certain day; and the *work of death*, on ſuch occaſions, is ſometimes performed in ſight of our ſhipping. Shocking as this account may ſeem, it is verified by undiſputed teſtimony; and to ſuppoſe that a diſcontinuance of the trade by one nation only, will put an end to this enormity, is to ſuppoſe that the African ſlaveholder will become more merciful, as his ſlaves are rendered of leſs value; a concluſion which I am afraid experience will not warrant *.

The

* Mr. Newton (an evidence in ſupport of the application to parliament for an abolition of the trade) admits that ſome of the ſlaves, that have been rejected by the Europeans, have been knocked on the head with the paddles of the boat that brought them, and thrown overboard. On the Gold Coaſt, Mr. Miles ſuppoſed they are moſtly reſerved for the purpoſe of

The effect which a partial abolition would probably have in our ſugar iſlands is now to be conſidered; and here it muſt, in the firſt place, be obſerved, that it ſeems not to be known, or is not adverted to, in England, that the ſugar eſtates are not only very much underſtocked in general, but that there is ſcarce one of them, for reaſons that will preſently be ſeen, that poſſeſſes a ſufficient number of Negro women, in proportion to the men. Of courſe there being fewer pairs, there are fewer children born. Thus ſituated, there muſt neceſſarily happen a decreaſe on the whole number of the ſlaves, even under the mildeſt treatment, and enjoying the greateſt plenty of wholeſome proviſions.—Secondly, it muſt be remembered that moſt of the ſugar eſtates, having been ſettled on credit, are burthened with heavy incumbrances to perſons in Great Britain. Many planters are under covenants to conſign thither annually, certain ſpecific quantities of ſugar and rum. The effect therefore of a direct and un-

of being ſacrificed at the burial of great men. One inſtance of this came within his own knowledge.——Mr. Weuves knew an inſtance of a woman being deſtroyed, who was accuſed of witchcraft, and could not be ſold. In order to ſave her life, he offered to give an anker of brandy for her; but her head was cut off before his meſſenger arrived. Other inſtances, ſimilar to this, are related by Mr. Mathews and Mr. Gandy. Sir George Young ſaved the life of a beautiful boy, about five years old, at Sierra Leone. The child being too young to be an object of trade, would have been thrown into the river by the perſon that had him to ſell, but Sir George, to ſave his life, offered a quarter caſk of Madeira wine for him, which was accepted—he brought him to England, and made a preſent of him to the Marquis of Lanſdown.—— Admiral Edwards, Mr. Penny, Mr. Dalzel, Mr. Anderſon, and others, concur in the ſame account of the diſpoſal of ſuch as are rejected by the Europeans.

Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council, 1789, Part 1ſt.

qualified

BOOK IV.

qualified abolition would be this, that while the few perſons who have money at command, would be waiting, and perhaps contriving, opportunities to ſtock their plantations with the ſlaves of their diſtreſſed and harraſſed neighbours, the great majority of planters would find themſelves in a moſt cruel and uncomfortable ſituation; their eſtates already weak-handed, deprived of the poſſibility of ſelling their lands, and no means in their power of augmenting their ſtock of labourers by purchaſe; their creditors, at the ſame time, clamorous and importunate for produce, which can only be obtained by great exertions of labour: In ſuch circumſtances what are they to do? I cannot better illuſtrate this part of my ſubject than by the caſe of the Dutch planters of Eſſequebo and Demerary: by an impolitic interdiction of foreign ſlave ſhips into thoſe provinces, they have, for ſome time paſt, felt all the effects of a virtual abolition; and here follows the account which they give of their ſituation, tranſcribed from a late memorial to the States General:—

"It is impoſſible, (ſay the petitioners) to inform your High Mightineſſes of the real annual diminution of our ſlaves, but it is generally calculated at five in the hundred, or a twentieth part. This is little felt the firſt year: nineteen remaining Negroes hardly perceive that they do the work which the preceding year employed twenty. But the ſecond year the ſame work falls to the ſhare of eighteen, and, if another year paſſes without an augmentation by purchaſe, ſeventeen muſt do the work firſt allotted to twenty. This muſt give riſe to diſcontent, deſertion and revolt; or, if the Negroes put up patiently with this ſurcharge of labour, illneſs and an earlier death muſt be the conſequence. Or, laſtly, if the planters ſeek to avoid

avoid all theſe inconveniencies, they muſt gradually contract the limits of their plantations, and of courſe diminiſh their produce."—Thus immediate intereſt in all caſes, and urgent diſtreſs in many, are oppoſed to the principles of juſtice and the dictates of humanity!

What I have thus deliberately written, is not, if I know my own heart, the language of ſelfiſhneſs, or party. I confeſs that, reflecting on the means by which ſlaves are very frequently obtained in Africa, and the deſtruction that formerly attended the mode of tranſporting them to the Weſt Indies, I was at one time of opinion it became this great and renowned nation, inſtead of regulating her conduct by that of other ſtates, to ſet a laudable example to *them*, by an immediate and unqualified ſuppreſſion of this reprobated commerce; and I ſhould ſtill maintain and avow the ſame ſentiments, were I not, on fuller enquiry and better information, led to ſuſpect *that the means propoſed are not adequate to the end.* I fear that a direct and ſudden abolition, by one nation alone, will *not* ſerve the purpoſes of humanity in Africa; and I am fully convinced that ſuch a meaſure will tend to aggravate, in a very high degree, the miſeries of a great majority of the Negroes already in the Weſt Indies; whoſe decreaſing population is at preſent unavoidable; and who therefore, unleſs recruited by ſupplies from Africa, muſt find their labours augment, as their numbers diminiſh.

The next object to which it was propoſed to direct our enquiries, is the mode of conveying ſlaves from Africa to the Weſt Indies, and their mortality in the voyage; conſtituting the ſecond ground on which moſt of the petitioners to parliament for an abolition of the trade, have reſted their

BOOK IV. their application. But before I proceed to conſider this part of my ſubject, it may not be improper to offer a few obſervations concerning the great diſproportion of ſexes in the purchaſes that are made on the coaſt; it being a well-known fact, that of the vaſt numbers of ſlaves annually exported from Africa, about one-third only are females. This circumſtance has been tortured into a charge of criminal neglect and improvident avarice againſt the planters of the Weſt Indies, who are ſuppoſed from thence to have no wiſh of making their ſlaves even as happy as their ſituation will admit, or of keeping up their numbers by natural increaſe. How far theſe charges are founded, let the following teſtimony of a very competent witneſs, determine:—"The diſproportion in the number of male and female ſlaves exported from Africa (ſays Mr. Barnes *) appears to me to be imputable to the three following cauſes: Firſt, to the practice of polygamy which prevails throughout Africa. Secondly, to ſome of the very cauſes of ſlavery itſelf; men are more apt to commit civil offences than women, and in all ſuch caſes, where males and females are involved in the ſame calamity, the firſt cauſe ſtill has its operation: the young females are kept for wives, and the males are ſold for ſlaves. Thirdly, to the circumſtance that females become unfit for the ſlave-market at a much earlier period than the males. A woman, through child-bearing, may appear a very exceptionable ſlave at twenty-two, or twenty-three years of age, whereas a healthy well-made man will not be objected to at four or five-and-thirty; conſequently, if an equal number of males and females of like ages were offered for

* Report of the Committee of Council, 1789.

ſale,

ſale, a much greater proportion of the females would be rejected on that account only. With regard to the queſtion, Whether the European traders prefer purchaſing males rather than females? I have to obſerve, that though it is impoſſible to conduct the buſineſs, either of a houſe or of a plantation, without a number of females, yet as the nature of the ſlave-ſervice in the Weſt Indies (being chiefly field labour) requires, for the immediate intereſt of the planter, a greater number of males, the European trader would of courſe wiſh to purchaſe his aſſortment according to the proportion wanted; but the fact is, *he has not an option in the caſe* for the reaſons already mentioned; ſo that in moſt parts of Africa it is with great difficulty he can get as many ſaleable females as will form any tolerable aſſortment." The application of theſe remarks will hereafter be ſeen. —I now return to the manner of tranſporting the ſlaves thus purchaſed, from Africa to the Weſt Indies.

It is difficult, I think, to aſſign any probable reaſon or motive why the treatment of theſe poor people at ſea ſhould be otherwiſe than as humane an indulgent as the ſafety of the crew will admit. Many ſhocking inſtances were however adduced, in the evidence delivered to the committee of privy council, of moſt outrageous and wanton barbarity and cruelty exerciſed towards them in different ſhips; but, as the witneſſes that were brought forward to eſtabliſh thoſe charges were not the moſt reſpectable in point of character; and in ſome caſes were proved to have ſuits at law with the captains againſt whom they gave evidence, I ſhall collect my account from leſs diſputable authority.

It is admitted on all hands that the men-ſlaves are ſecured in irons when they firſt come on board;

BOOK IV. board; but Sir George Young, a captain in the king's ſervice, who appears to be well acquainted with the trade in all its branches, is of opinion, that this is not practiſed more than neceſſity requires. The mode is, by faſtening every two men together, the right ancle of one being locked, by means of a ſmall iron fetter, to the left of the other; and if marks of a turbulent diſpoſition appear, an additional fetter is put on their wriſts. On the paſſage, when danger is no longer apprehended, theſe irons are commonly taken off; and women and young people are exempt from them from the beginning*. They are lodged between decks, on clean boards, the men and women being ſeparated from each other by bulk-heads; and freſh air is admitted by means of windſails or ventilators. Covering of any kind, as well from the warmth of the climate as from the conſtant practice of going naked, would be inſupportable to them. Every morning, if the weather permits, they are brought upon deck, and allowed to continue there until the evening. Their apartments, in the mean time, are waſhed, ſcraped, fumigated, and ſprinkled with vinegar. The firſt attention paid to them in the morning is to ſupply them with water to waſh their hands and faces, after which they are provided with their morning meal, which, according to the country from whence they come, conſiſts either of Indian corn, or of rice or yams. Before noon they are conſtantly and regularly made to bathe in ſalt-water, than which nothing can be more agreeable and refreſhing. Their dinner is varied, conſiſting ſometimes of food to which they have been accuſtomed in Africa, as yams and Indian

* The bulk of the cargo is generally young people from ſixteen years of age to thirty.—The loweſt ſize four feet.

corn,

corn, &c. and at other times of proviſions brought from Europe, as dried beans and peaſe, wheat, ſhelled barley, and biſcuit, all which are boiled ſoft in ſteam, and mixed up with a ſauce made of meat, or fiſh, or palm-oil; a conſtant and deſirable article in their cookery. At each meal they are allowed as much as they can eat, and have likewiſe a ſufficiency of freſh water; unleſs when, from an uncommon long voyage, the preſervation of the ſhip compels the captain to put them to a ſhort allowance. Drams alſo are given them when the weather is cold or wet; and pipes and tobacco whenever they deſire them. In the intervals between their meals they are encouraged to divert themſelves with muſic and dancing; for which purpoſe ſuch rude and uncouth inſtruments as are uſed in Africa, are collected before their departure; and they are alſo permitted to amuſe themſelves with games of chance, for which they are likewiſe furniſhed with implements of African invention. In ſickneſs, the invalids are immediately removed to the captain's cabin, or to an hoſpital built near the forecaſtle; and treated with all the care, both in regard to medicine and food, that circumſtances will admit; and when, fortunately for the Negroes, the ſhip touches at any place in her voyage, as frequently happens, every refreſhment that the country affords, as cocoa-nuts, oranges, limes, and other fruits, with vegetables of all ſorts, are diſtributed among them; and refreſhments of the ſame kind are freely allowed them at the place of their deſtination, between the days of arrival and ſale. CHAP. IV.

From this account, which is confirmed by the teſtimony of a great number of reſpectable men, many of whom were wholly diſintereſted in the queſtion, and could therefore have no motive to violate

BOOK IV.

violate or ſuppreſs the truth, it may be ſuppoſed that every ſcheme which can eaſily be deviſed to preſerve the Negroes in health, cleanlineſs, and cheerfulneſs, is adopted in the voyage. So dreadful, notwithſtanding, has been the mortality in ſeveral ſhips, wherein theſe precautions were uſed, as to evince, beyond all contradiction, that there was ſomething in thoſe inſtances intrinſically wrong; and it cannot be doubted that the miſchief has been aſcribed to its proper cauſe, namely, the criminal rapaciouſneſs of many of the ſhip-maſters in purchaſing more Negroes than their accommodations were calculated to convey. It appeared in evidence before the Houſe of Commons, that a ſhip of 240 tons would frequently be crowded with no leſs than 520 ſlaves; which was not allowing ten inches of room to each individual. The conſequence of this inexcuſable avarice, was oftentimes a loſs of fifteen per cent. in the voyage, and 4½ per cent. more in the harbours of the Weſt Indies, previous to the ſale, from diſeaſes contracted at ſea;—a deſtruction of the human ſpecies on which it is impoſſible to reflect without indignation and horror!

To the ſeveral arguments, however, which have been raiſed on the ground of theſe abuſes, in ſupport of the ſcheme of abolition, a very ſhort anſwer may be given:—Admit all the miſeries and deſtructive wretchedneſs which have been placed to this account to have exiſted in full force, and it will ſtill remain to be enquired whether meaſures of leſs powerful operation than a total ſuppreſſion of the trade, will not obviate in future the evils complained of; becauſe, if regulations alone are ſufficient for that purpoſe, abolition cannot be neceſſary. Regulations have accordingly been framed and inforced under the authority

authority of the Britiſh parliament, of which the certain effect ought ſurely to be known, before the evils they are meant to redreſs are pronounced irremediable. By an act of the 28th year of his preſent Majeſty (ſince renewed and amended) the ſlave ſhips are reſtricted to the conveyance of five ſlaves to every three tons; and even this proportion is allowed only as far as 201 tons. For every additional ton they are limited to one additional ſlave *. To theſe important precautions for ſecuring to the Negroes a ſufficiency of room, is added the neceſſary proviſion of a regularly qualified ſurgeon; to whom, as well as to the ſhipmaſter, very liberal encouragement is given, to induce both of them to exert every provident endeavour in preſerving their unfortunate captives in health and ſpirits: the ſum of one hundred pounds being allowed to the maſter, and £.50 to the ſurgeon, if the loſs on the voyage amounts to no more than two in the hundred, and half thoſe ſums if the loſs ſhall not exceed three in the hundred.

Of the full effect which this ſyſtem of reſtriction and encouragement hath hitherto produced in all the Britiſh colonies, I am not informed; but judging by returns which I have obtained from one of the principal marts in the Weſt Indies, it would ſeem to have been found, in a very eminent degree, advantageous and ſalutary. At the port of Montego-Bay, in Jamaica, the Negroes imported between the 18th day of November 1789, and the 15th of July 1791, were 9,993,

* It is alſo provided, that veſſels not exceeding 201 tons ſhall not carry of *male* ſlaves (exceeding four feet four inches in height) more than one for each ton, and veſſels of larger ſize more than three ſuch *males* for every five tons. This regulation ſeems intended as an encouragement to the export of a greater proportion of females.

in

BOOK IV.

in 38 ſhips; the mortality at ſea, excluſive of the loſs of 54 Negroes in a mutiny on the coaſt, was 746, which is ſomewhat under ſeven per cent. on the whole number of ſlaves. This, though much leſs, I believe, than the average loſs which commonly happened before the regulating law took place, is, I admit, ſufficiently great; and, had it prevailed in any degree *equally* on the ſeveral ſhips concerned, might, perhaps, have been conſidered as a fair eſtimate of the general mortality conſequent on the trade, notwithſtanding the precautions and proviſions of the regulating act. But on examining the liſt, I find that eight of the 38 ſhips, were entitled to, and actually received, the full premium; two others received the half premium; and one other (a ſchooner that ſailed from Jamaica to the coaſt before the act took place) returned without the loſs of a ſingle Negro. Of 746 deaths, no leſs than 328 occurred in four ſhips only, all of which, with five other veſſels, comprehending the whole number of ſhips in which three-fifths of the mortality occurred, came from the ſame part of the coaſt, the Bight of Benin; a circumſtance that gives room to conclude (as undoubtedly was the fact) that the Negroes from that part of the country brought diſeaſe and contagion with them from the land; an epidemic fever and flux generally prevailing on the low marſhy ſhores of the Bonny rivers, during the autumnal months, which ſometimes proves even more deſtructive on ſhore than at ſea.

Perhaps the trueſt criterion by which to eſtimate the beneficial effect of the regulating law, is the comparatively trifling loſs that now occurs in the harbours of the Weſt Indies before the Guiney ſhips open their ſales. This mortality, which

which was formerly eſtimated at 4 ½ per cent. and was manifeſtly the conſequence of ſickneſs or improper treatment in the voyage, is now happily mitigated in ſo great a degree, that out of the whole number of 9,993 ſlaves imported into Montego-Bay as before ſtated, the loſs between the days of arrival and ſale, was no more than 69, or not quite ¾ per cent. Enough therefore hath been effected to demonſtrate, that it is by no means impoſſible, nor indeed a very difficult matter, to render the conveyance of Negroes from Africa to the Weſt Indies, as little prejudicial to their healths, as the tranſportation of any other body of people acroſs the ocean in any part of the world. Few voyages were more deſtructive to the ſeamen than that of Lord Anſon, and none leſs ſo than thoſe of Captain Cook; an inconteſtible proof that the mortality which has commonly occurred at ſea, has at all times ariſen from ill-conſtructed ſhips, and neglect, or improper management on board.

Concerning the Weſt India planters, as they are intirely innocent and ignorant of the manner in which the Slave Trade is conducted (having no other concern therein than becoming purchaſers of what Britiſh acts of parliament have made objects of ſale) ſo it is equally conſonant to their intereſt and their wiſhes, that effectual means ſhould be purſued for preſerving the health of the Negroes, by ſecuring to them proper and reaſonable accommodation on the paſſage. The aſſembly of Jamaica, inſtead of remonſtrating againſt that augmentation in the price of ſlaves, which they muſt have foreſeen that the act of the Britiſh parliament would neceſſarily create, with the liberality of dignified minds applauded the principle of the meaſure, declaring it to be founded in neceſ-

BOOK IV.

ſity, juſtice, and humanity, and expreſſed their opinion that the wiſdom and authority of parliament might be beneficially exerted in further regulations of the African commerce, particularly in preventing the detention of ſhips on the coaſt; in prohibiting the purchaſe of ſlaves who ſhould appear to have been kidnapped; in compelling the ſlave-ſhips to tranſport an equal number of both ſexes, and to provide ventilators and a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, eſpecially water: ſuch a recommendation it might be ſuppoſed would engage immediate attention, not only as coming from men who are certainly the beſt judges of its propriety and neceſſity, but alſo becauſe the means of enforcing moſt of the regulations which they recommend are practicable and apparent.

Having thus, I preſume, ſufficiently treated of the means by which ſlaves are procured for ſale in Africa, and the regulations that have been eſtabliſhed by the Britiſh parliament for their better conveyance to the Sugar Iſlands, I ſhall proceed, in the next chapter, to a detail of their general treatment and ſituation there, immediately on and after their arrival, and diſtribution among the planters.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Arrival and ſale in the Weſt Indies.—Negroes newly purchaſed, how diſpoſed of and employed.—Detail of the management of Negroes on a ſugar plantation.—Mode of maintaining them.—Houſes, clothing, and medical care.—Abuſes.—Late regulations for their protection and ſecurity—Cauſes of their annual decreaſe.—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its mildeſt form unfriendly to population.—General obſervations.—Propoſals for the further meliorating the condition of the Slaves, with which the ſubject concludes.

THE arrival of a Guiney ſhip in the Weſt Indies is announced by public advertiſement, ſpecifying the number of Negroes imported, the country from whence, and day of ſale. It was the practice until of late, to open the ſale on ſhip-board, the males being arranged in one part of the ſhip, and the females in another: but, as viſitors of all deſcriptions were admitted without heſitation or enquiry, it frequently happened, when ſlave ſhips were ſcarce, that ſuch crowds of people went on board, and began ſo diſgraceful a ſcramble, as to terrify the poor ignorant Africans with the notion that they were ſeized on by a herd of cannibals, and ſpeedily to be devoured. The wiſdom of the legiſlature of Jamaica has corrected this enormity in the iſland, by enacting that the ſales ſhall be conducted on ſhore, and that care ſhall be taken not to ſeparate different

CHAP. V.

BOOK IV.

branches of the ſame family. I am afraid it hath been found difficult, in all caſes, to enforce this latter regulation; but it is uſual with moſt planters, I believe, to enquire of the Negroes themſelves, by means of an interpreter, whether they have relations on board, and to purchaſe families together; or, by exchanging with other buyers, to prevent, if poſſible, that cruel ſeparation between parents and children, and brothers and ſiſters, which muſt ſometimes, I doubt, unavoidably take place. I never knew an inſtance where ſuch purchaſe or accommodation was knowingly declined or refuſed *.

Although there is ſomething extremely ſhocking to a humane and cultivated mind, in the idea of beholding a numerous body of our unfortunate fellow creatures, in captivity and exile, expoſed naked to public view, and ſold like a herd of cattle, yet I could never perceive (except in the caſes that have been mentioned of a ſcramble on ſhip-board) that the Negroes themſelves were oppreſſed with many of thoſe painful ſenſations which a perſon unaccuſtomed to the ſcene would naturally attribute to ſuch apparent wretchedneſs. The circumſtance of being expoſed naked, is perhaps of little account to thoſe who were never ſenſible of the neceſſity or propriety of being clothed. The climate requires it not, nor are the Negroes, though naked, deſtitute of decorations, on which, at their firſt arrival, they ſeem to ſet a much higher eſtimation than on raiment; moſt of the nations of Africa having their

* Since this was written, the author of this work had the honour of propoſing to the aſſembly of Jamaica an act which was unanimouſly adopted, and is now an exiſting law, by which the Guiney factors are compelled, under the ſolemnity of an oath, to do their utmoſt to enforce the regulation alluded to.

ſkin,

ſkin, particularly on the forehead, the breaſt, and round the waiſt, punctured or impreſſed with figures and repreſentations of different kinds (ſquares, circles, triangles, and creſcents) ſimilar to the practice which prevails in *Otaheite*, and the other iſlands of the South Sea, called *tatowing*, as deſcribed in the voyages of Captain Cook. Like thoſe iſlanders too, ſome of the newly-imported Negroes diſplay theſe marks with a mixture of oſtentation and pleaſure, either conſidering them as highly ornamental, or appealing to them as teſtimonies of diſtinction in Africa; where, in ſome caſes, they are ſaid to indicate free birth and honourable parentage *. The Negroes are appriſed alſo, before their arrival, that they are to be employed in tillage; and, knowing that they were bought with money, expect to be ſold in the ſame manner. They diſplay therefore, on being brought to market, very few ſigns of lamentation for their paſt, or of apprehenſion for their future condition; but, wearied out with confinement at ſea, commonly expreſs great eager-

* Some of the Negroes of the Gold Coaſt, or the adjacent countries (the *Chamba* Negroes for inſtance) appear to me to uſe the ſame, or nearly the ſame marks as the ſavages of New Zealand; *viz.* deep inciſions on each cheek drawn circularly from the ear to the mouth. (*Vide Hawkeſworth's Voyages*, vol. iii. c. 9.) It is ridiculous enough, that ſome of the writers againſt the ſlave trade ſhould aſcribe theſe marks of ſuperſtition or falſe taſte to the cruelty of the planters, and gravely aſſert that they are the ſcars of horrible gaſhes inflicted by the bloody hand of tyranny in the wantonneſs of puniſhment. The Reverend Mr. Clarkſon catches very eagerly at this idea, and aſſerts with great ſolemnity, that "it is a "matter of conſtant lamentation with diſintereſted people, "who, out of curioſity, attend the Negro markets in Jamaica, "that they are not able to turn their eyes on any group of "Negroes without beholding theſe inhuman marks of paſſion, "deſpotiſm, and caprice!"

neſs

BOOK IV.

neſs to be ſold; preſenting themſelves, when the buyers are few, with cheerfulneſs and alacrity for ſelection, and appearing mortified and diſappointed when refuſed. If it happens, as it frequently does, when the purchaſers have leiſure and opportunity to inſpect them individually, that ſome bodily defect or blemiſh is diſcovered in any of them, the majority ſeem highly diverted at the circumſtance; manifeſting, by loud and repeated burſts of laughter, that reflection conſtitutes no very predominant part of their character *.

The buyer having completed his aſſortment, and cloathed his newly-acquired ſubjects with a coarſe German linen, called Oznaburghs, and provided them alſo with hats, handkerchiefs, and knives, ſends them to the place of their intended reſidence†: and now a practice prevails in Jamaica, which I myſelf, unacquainted as I then was with the actual management in detail of a ſugar plantation, and reſiding in a diſtant country, uſed to reprobate and exclaim againſt; but to which I now ſubmit, from a full conviction, founded on experience, of its uſefulneſs and neceſſity. The practice is that of diſtributing the newly-imported

* The prices of new Negroes in the Weſt Indies, at this time (1791) are nearly as follows:—An able man in his prime, £.50 ſterling; an able woman, £.49 ſterling; a youth approaching to manhood, £.47 ſterling; a young girl, £.46 ſterling; boys and girls from £.40 to 45 ſterling, excluſive of the Colonial tax or duty on importation, about twenty ſhillings more.

† It is the cuſtom among ſome of the planters in Jamaica, to mark the initials of their name on the ſhoulder or breaſt of each newly-purchaſed Negro, by means of a ſmall ſilver brand heated in the flame of ſpirits, as deſcribed in a former chapter; but it is growing into diſuſe, and I believe in the Windward Iſlands thought altogether unneceſſary.

Africans

Africans among the old Negroes, as penſioners (with ſome little aſſiſtance occaſionally given) on their little *peculium*, and proviſion-grounds. This I uſed to conſider as an inſupportable hardſhip on the poor people already ſettled and domeſticated, and I poſitively and expreſsly forbad a continuance of the cuſtom in plantations over which I had authority. CHAP. V.

On my return to the Weſt Indies, I was ſurpriſed to find the old-eſtabliſhed Negroes, when young people newly arrived from Africa were ſent among them, requeſt, as a particular inſtance of favour and indulgence to themſelves, the revival and continuance of the ancient ſyſtem; aſſuring me they had the means of ſupporting the ſtrangers without difficulty. Many who thus applied, propoſed each of them to adopt one of their young country-folks in the room of children they had loſt by death, or had been deprived of in Africa; others, becauſe they wiſhed, like the patriarchs of old, to ſee their ſons take to themſelves wives from their own nation and kindred; and all of them, I preſume, becauſe, among other conſiderations, they expected to revive and retrace in the converſation of their new viſitors, the remembrance and ideas of paſt pleaſures and ſcenes of their youth. The ſtrangers too were beſt pleaſed with this arrangement, and ever afterwards conſidered themſelves as the adopted children of thoſe by whom they were thus protected, calling them parents, and venerating them as ſuch; and I never knew an inſtance of the violation of a truſt thus ſolicited and beſtowed. In the courſe of eight or ten months, provided they are mildly uſed and kept free of diſeaſe, new people, under theſe circumſtances, become reconciled to the country; begin to get well eſtabliſhed

BOOK IV. in their families, their houſes and proviſion-grounds; and prove in all reſpects as valuable as the native or creole negroes *.

What has hitherto been obſerved concerning the diſpoſal of Africans newly imported, is, I believe, applicable to Weſt Indian eſtates of all deſcriptions; but as my own perſonal attention has been chiefly directed to ſugar plantations, I would be underſtood to ſpeak of thoſe more particularly; and ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the methodical arrangement and diſtribution of the labour with which they are conducted, as it is unqueſtionably more ſevere and conſtant than that on any other ſpecies of landed property in the Weſt Indies.

The Negroes are divided into three ſets or claſſes, uſually called *gangs;* the firſt conſiſting of the moſt healthy and robuſt of the men and women, whoſe chief buſineſs it is, out of crop-time, to clear, hole and plant the ground; and, in crop-time, to cut the canes, feed the mills, and attend the manufacture of the ſugar. It is computed, that, in the whole body of the negroes on a well-conditioned plantation, there are commonly found one-third of this deſcription, excluſive of domeſtics and negro tradeſmen, *viz.* carpenters, coopers and maſons, with which each well-regulated plantation is provided †. The ſecond

* Generally ſpeaking, a Creole Negro is conſidered as worth more than one imported; but in a valuation, by indifferent perſons, of two able well-diſpoſed Negroes nearly of the ſame age, the one an African, the other a native, no great difference (if any) would be made. A child juſt born is valued at £.5.

† The annual profit ariſing to the owner, from the labour of each able field Negro employed in the cultivation of ſugar, may be reckoned at twenty-five pounds ſterling money. I reckon

cond gang is compoſed of young boys and girls, women far gone with child, and convaleſcents, who are chiefly employed in weeding the canes, and other light work adapted to their ſtrength and condition; and the third ſet conſiſt of young children, attended by a careful old woman, who are employed in collecting green meat for the pigs and ſheep; or in weeding the garden, or ſome ſuch gentle exerciſe, merely to preſerve them from the habits of idleneſs. CHAP. V.

The firſt gang is ſummoned to the labours of the field either by a bell or the blowing of the conch-ſhell, juſt before ſun-riſe. They bring with them, beſides their hoes and bills, proviſions for breakfaſt; and are attended by a White perſon, and a Black ſuperintendant called a driver. —The liſt being called over, and the names of all the abſentees noted, they proceed with their work until eight or nine o'clock, when they ſit down in the ſhade to breakfaſt, which is prepared

reckon thus:—A ſugar plantation, well conducted, and in a favourable ſoil, ought to yield as many hogſheads of ſugar, of 16 cwt. annually, as there are Negroes belonging to it, the average value of which, for ten years paſt, may be ſtated as £.15 ſterling the hogſhead; but, as every plantation is not thus productive, and the rum, which is generally appropriated to the payment of contingent charges, not being always ſufficient for that purpoſe, I will allow £.10 ſterling only, as the clear profit *per* hogſhead of the ſugar, which therefore is the average value of the labour of each Negro, old and young; and one-third only of the Negroes being able people, their labour may be put at £.30 a head; out of which however muſt be deducted, the intereſt on their firſt coſt, and an allowance for the riſque of loſing them by death or deſertion (their maintenance, &c. being included in the contingent expences of the eſtate) for both which I allow fifteen per cent. This leaves about £.25 ſterling clear, or nearly a fourth part of the actual value of each ſlave.

in

BOOK IV. in the mean time by a certain number of women, whoſe ſole employment it is to act as cooks for the reſt. This meal commonly conſiſts of boiled yams, eddoes, ocra, calalue and plantains, or as many of thoſe vegetables as they can procure; ſeaſoned with ſalt, and cayenne pepper; and, in truth, it is an exceeding palatable and wholeſome meſs. By this time moſt of the abſentees make their appearance, and are ſometimes puniſhed for their ſluggiſhneſs by a few ſtripes of the driver's whip. But I am happy to ſay that of late years a very ſlight excuſe is generally admitted. The fact is, that when the mornings are chill and foggy, as frequently happens even under the zone, the ſenſations of the Negro are diſtreſsful beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of frozen regions. Inſtead of deriving firmneſs and activity from the cold, he becomes inert, ſluggiſh and languid; and neither labour nor puniſhment will animate him to great exertion, until he is revivified by the genial warmth of the ſun. At breakfaſt they are ſeldom indulged with more than half or three quarters of an hour; and, having reſumed their work, continue in the field until noon, when the bell calls them from labour. They are now allowed two hours of reſt and refreſhment; one of which is commonly ſpent in ſleep. Their dinner is provided with the addition of ſalted or pickled fiſh, of which each Negro receives a weekly allowance. Many of them, however, preferring a plentiful ſupper to a meal at noon, paſs the hours of receſs, either in ſleep, or in collecting food for their pigs and poultry, of which they are permitted to keep as many as they pleaſe; or perhaps a few of the more induſtrious, will employ an hour in their proviſion-grounds. At two o'clock they are again ſummoned to the field,

field, where, having been refreſhed both by reſt and food, they now manifeſt ſome ſigns of vigorous and animated application; although I can with great truth aſſert, that one Engliſh labourer in his own climate would perform at leaſt three times the work of any one Negro in the ſame period. At ſun-ſet, or very ſoon after, they are releaſed for the night, (the drudgery, ſo much complained of in ſome of the iſlands to windward, of picking graſs, being happily unknown in Jamaica) and if the day has been wet, or their labour harder than uſual, they are ſometimes indulged with an allowance of rum. On the whole, as the length of the days in the latitude of the Weſt Indies differs very little throughout the year, I conceive they are employed daily about ten hours, in the ſervice of their maſter, Sundays and holidays excepted. In the crop ſeaſon, however, the ſyſtem is different; for at that time, ſuch of the Negroes as are employed in the mill and boiling houſes, often work very late, frequently all night; but they are divided into watches, which relieve each other, according to the practice among ſeamen; and it is remarkable that at this ſeaſon, the Negroes enjoy higher health and vigour than at any other period of the year; a circumſtance undoubtedly owing to the free and unreſtrained uſe which they are allowed to make of the ripe canes, the cane-liquor and ſyrup. CHAP. V.

The practice which prevails in Jamaica of giving the Negroes lands to cultivate, from the produce of which they are expected to maintain themſelves (except in the times of ſcarcity, ariſing from hurricanes and droughts, when aſſiſtance is never denied them) is univerſally allowed to be judicious and beneficial; producing a happy coalition of intereſts between the maſter and the ſlave.

BOOK IV.

ſlave. The Negro who has acquired by his own labour a property in his maſter's land, has much to loſe, and is therefore leſs inclined to deſert his work. He earns a little money, by which he is enabled to indulge himſelf in fine clothes on holidays, and gratify his palate with ſalted meats and other proviſions that otherwiſe he could not obtain; and the proprietor is eaſed, in a great meaſure, of the expence of feeding him. In ſome of the Windward iſlands they have not land enough for the purpoſe; nor, in any one of them, are the Negroes ſo happily accommodated, in this reſpect, as in the large iſland of Jamaica; where they are ſeldom either ſtinted in quantity of land, or confined as to ſituation. In fact, if the owner's territory is ſufficiently extenſive, the Negroes make it a practice to enlarge their own grounds, or exchange them for freſh land, every year. By theſe means, having quicker and better returns, they raiſe proviſions in abundance, not only for their own uſe, but alſo a great ſurplus to ſell. The misfortune is, they truſt more to plaintain-groves, corn and other vegetables, that are liable to be deſtroyed by ſtorms, than to what are called *ground proviſions;* ſuch as yams, eddoes, potatoes, caſſada, and other eſculent roots; all which are out of the reach of hurricanes; but prudence is a term that has no place in the Negro-vocabulary. To obviate the miſchiefs which fatal experience has proved to flow from this groſs inattention, the *Slave Act* of Jamaica obliges, under a penalty, every proprietor of lands to keep, properly cultivated in ground proviſions, one acre for every ten Negroes excluſive of the Negro grounds *.

The

* In Jamaica the Negroes are allowed one day in a fortnight, except in time of crop, beſides Sundays and holidays, for

CHAP. V.

The cottages of the Negroes uſually compoſe a ſmall village, the ſituation of which, for the ſake of convenience and water, is commonly near the buildings in which the manufacture of ſugar is conducted. They are ſeldom placed with much regard to order, but, being always intermingled with fruit-trees, particularly the banana, the avocado-pear, and the orange (the Negroes' own planting and property) they ſometimes exhibit a pleaſing and picturesque appearance. To affirm that they are very tolerable habitations, according to the idea which an untravelled Engliſhman would probably form of the word, were an inſult

for cultivating their grounds and carrying their proviſions to market. Some of them find time on theſe days, beſides raiſing proviſions, to make a few coarſe manufactures, ſuch as mats for beds, bark ropes of a ſtrong and durable texture, wicker chairs and baſkets, earthen jars, pans, &c. for all which they find a ready ſale; but I cannot ſay much for the ſkill and elegance of their workmanſhip. The moſt induſtrious of the Negroes do not, I believe, employ more than ſixteen hours in a month in the cultivation of their own proviſion-gardens (leaving all further care of them to the beneficence of nature) and in favourable ſeaſons this is ſufficient. Sunday is their day of market, and it is wonderful what numbers are then ſeen, haſtening from all parts of the country, towards the towns and ſhipping places, laden with fruits and vegetables, pigs, goats, and poultry, their own property. In Jamaica it is ſuppoſed that upwards of 10,000 aſſemble every Sunday morning in the market of Kingſton, where they barter their proviſions, &c. for ſalted beef and pork, or fine linen and ornaments for their wives and children. I do not believe that an inſtance can be produced of a maſter's interfering with his Negroes in their *peculium* thus acquired. They are permitted alſo to diſpoſe at their deaths of what little property they poſſeſs; and even to bequeath their grounds or gardens to ſuch of their fellow-ſlaves as they think proper. Theſe principles are ſo well-eſtabliſhed, that whenever it is found convenient for the owner to exchange the negro grounds for other lands, the Negroes muſt be ſatisfied, in money or otherwiſe, before the exchange takes place. It is univerſally the practice.

to

BOOK IV. to the reader; but it may honeſtly be ſaid, that, allowing for the difference of climate, they far excel the cabins of the Scotch and Iriſh peaſants, as deſcribed by Mr. Young, and other travellers. They are ſuch, at leaſt, as are commenſurate to the deſires and neceſſities of their inhabitants, who build them according to their own fancy both in ſize and ſhape, the maſter allowing the timber, and frequently permitting the eſtate's carpenters to aſſiſt in the building. In general, a cottage for one Negro and his wife, is from fifteen to twenty feet in length, and divided into two apartments. It is compoſed of hard poſts driven into the ground, and interlaced with wattles and plaiſter. The height from the ground to the plate being barely ſufficient to admit the owner to walk in upright. The floor is of natural earth, which is commonly dry enough, and the roof thatched with palm thatch, or the leaves of the cocoa-nut-tree; an admirable covering, forming a laſting and impenetrable ſhelter both againſt the ſun and the rain. Of furniture they have no great matters to boaſt, nor, conſidering their habits of life, is much required. The bedſtead is a platform of boards, and the bed a mat covered with a blanket; a ſmall table; two or three low ſtools; an earthen jar for holding water; a few ſmaller ones; a pail; an iron pot; *calabaſhes* * of different ſizes (ſerving very tolerably for plates, diſhes and bowls) make up the reſt. Their cookery is conducted in the open air, and, fire-wood being always at hand, they have not only a ſufficiency for that purpoſe, but alſo for a fire within doors during the night, without which a Negro cannot ſleep with comfort. It is made in the middle of one of the two rooms,

* A ſpecies of gourd.

and

and the ſmoke makes its way through the door or the thatch. This account of their accommodation, however, is confined to the loweſt among the field-negroes: tradeſmen and domeſtics are in general vaſtly better lodged and provided. Many of theſe have larger houſes, with boarded floors, and are accommodated (at their own expence, it is true) with very decent furniture:—a few have even good beds, linen ſheets, and muſquito nets, and diſplay a ſhelf or two of plates and diſhes of Queen's or Staffordſhire ware. CHAP. V.

Of clothing, the allowance of the maſter is not always ſo liberal as might be wiſhed, but much more ſo of late years than formerly *. Few of the Negroes, however, on Sundays and holidays, appear deficient in this point, or ſhew any want of raiment, not only decent but gaudy.

The circumſtances wherein the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies ſeem moſtly indebted to their owners' liberality, are, I think, thoſe of medical attendance and accommodation when ſick. Every plantation, that I am acquainted with, is under the daily or weekly inſpection of a practitioner in phyſic and ſurgery, who very frequently reſides on the ſpot; and the planters, being in general men of education themſelves, are not eaſily reconciled, in ſo important a matter, with ſuch illiterate pretenders in medicine as are very often found in the country parts of England, to the diſgrace of the profeſſion. Young men of ſkill and ſcience are therefore ſought for and encouraged; and as but few ſingle plantations can afford a very liberal allow-

* I believe the Negroes on every plantation in Jamaica, without exception, receive a yearly allowance of Oznaburg-linen, woollen baize, checks, &c. and but very few planters deny them hats, handkerchiefs, and other little articles, as knives, needles and thread, &c. &c.

ance,

BOOK IV. ance, they are permitted to extend their practice in the neighbourhood *.

For

* The uſual recompence to the ſurgeon for attendance and medicines, is ſix ſhillings a head per annum for all the Negroes on the eſtate, whether ſick or well. Amputations, difficult caſes in midwifery, inoculation, &c. are paid for excluſively, and on a liberal ſcale. A property having 500 Negroes contributes about £.150 ſterling per annum; and the ſurgeon, if he chuſes, is entitled to board, waſhing, and lodging; and this is altogether independant of the profits of his practice with the Whites. I ſuppoſe there are few plantation doctors in Jamaica, that have leſs than 500 Negroes under their care; ſeveral (with their aſſiſtants) have upwards of 5,000.

Among the diſeaſes which Negroes bring with them from Africa, the moſt loathſome are the *cacabay* and the *yaws*; and it is difficult to ſay which is the worſt. The former is the leproſy of the Arabians, and the latter (much the moſt common) is ſuppoſed, by ſome writers, to be the leproſy mentioned in Leviticus, c. xiii. Both are very accurately deſcribed by Doctor Hillary, in his Obſervations on the Diſeaſes of Barbadoes. Young Negro children often catch the yaws, and get through it without medicine or much inconveniency. At a later period it is ſeldom or never thoroughly eradicated; and as, like the ſmall-pox, it is never had but *once*, the Gold Coaſt Negroes are ſaid to communicate the infection to their infants by inoculation. I very much doubt if medicine of any kind is of uſe in this diſeaſe.—But the greateſt mortality among the Negroes in the Weſt Indies ariſes from two other complaints; the one affecting infants between the fifth and fourteenth days after their birth, and of which it is ſuppoſed that one-fourth of all the Negro children periſh. It is a ſpecies of *tetanus*, or locked jaw; but both the cauſe of it in theſe poor children, and the remedy, remain yet to be diſcovered. The other complaint affects adults, or rather negroes who are paſt their prime. They become dropſical, and complain of a conſtant uneaſineſs in the ſtomach; for which they find a temporary relief in eating ſome kind of earth. The French planters call this diſeaſe *mal d'eſtomac*, or the ſtomach evil. I have formerly heard of owners and managers who were ſo ignorant and ſavage as to attempt the cure by ſevere puniſhment; conſidering *dirt-eating*, not as a diſeaſe, but a crime. I hope the race is extinct. The beſt and only remedy is kind

uſage

For the better accommodation of invalids and women in child-birth, every plantation is provided with a ſick-houſe or hoſpital, divided into different apartments; and over which one or more aged women preſide as nurſes. The proprietor commonly ſupplies blankets, flour, rice, ſugar, and oatmeal: theſe things I have ſeldom known to be denied, and ſome gentlemen afford, beſides freſh beef and mutton, more coſtly articles; ſuch as ſpices, ſago, and wine. CHAP. V.

On the whole, notwithſtanding ſome defects, let allowance be made for the climate and ſoil, and it may be aſſerted with truth and modeſty, that, if the ſituation of the ſlaves in the Britiſh Weſt Indies were, in all caſes, on a level with their circumſtances in regard to food, lodging, and medical aſſiſtance, they might be deemed objects of envy to half the peaſantry of Europe.

At the ſame time let it not be forgotten, that the legiſlative authority, in many of the ſugar iſlands, has been, and ſtill is, moſt humanely and laudably exerted in exalting the condition of the ſlave in all reſpects, and circumſcribing the power of the maſter.—"Protection of their ſlaves (ſays "the Report of the Privy Council) made but a "very ſmall portion of their earlier policy. This "branch has of late been taken up, and expreſs "directions have been given to enſure to the Ne"groes, the enjoyment of many advantages tend"ing to alleviate their condition. In three "iſlands, particularly (Jamaica, Grenada, and "Dominica) the wiſh to ſoften the rigours of "their ſituation has manifeſted itſelf more decid-

uſage and wholeſome animal food; and perhaps a ſteel drink may be of ſome ſervice. Of one poor fellow in this complaint, I myſelf made a perfect cure by perſiſting ſome time in this method.

BOOK IV.

" edly. Meaſures have been deviſed by the legiſla-
" tures of thoſe iſlands for placing them in a ſtate
" of ſociety, where they will be entitled to a pro-
" tection that in former times would have been
" thought incompatible with the dependance and
" ſubordination of ſlavery."

To this diſtinguiſhed and honourable teſtimony, it may be added, as a circumſtance of ſtill greater importance, that the age itſelf is hourly improving in humanity; and that this improvement viſibly extends beyond the Atlantic. Its influence is felt where the law is a dead letter. This, however, is to be underſtood with conſiderable allowance; for it is a melancholy truth, that authority over theſe poor people muſt, on ſeveral occaſions, unavoidably devolve into the hands that will employ it only in its abuſe; and in caſes too, in which, if redreſs be ſought, the teſtimony of the injured party is inadmiſſible in a court of juſtice. Under thoſe circumſtances, while the law loſes its authority, I am afraid that the ſenſe of decorum alone affords but a feeble reſtraint againſt the corrupt paſſions and infirmities of our nature, the hardneſs of avarice, the pride of power, the ſallies of anger, and the thirſt of revenge.

That the narratives therefore of exceſſive whippings, and barbarous mutilations, which have lately awakened the ſympathy of the public, are *all* of them " abſolutely falſe;"—though it has been aſſerted by others, ſhall *not* be aſſerted by me. If they have happened but *ſeldom*, they have happened too often. The difference between me, and thoſe who, on this ground, continue to urge the neceſſity of an immediate and total ſuppreſſion of the ſlave trade, is this: they aſſert that it is not *unfrequent*, but *common*, the occurrence of every hour, to behold the miſerable Negroes fall victims

to

to a ſeries of cruelties of which no other age or country affords an example; and they maintain that the planters, *in general*, are guilty of theſe cruelties, without commiſeration or remorſe. I, on the other hand, aver that, although ſuch enormities have certainly *ſometimes* happened, and may happen again, yet that the *general* treatment of the Negroes in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is mild, temperate, and indulgent; that inſtances of cruelty are not only rare, but always univerſally reprobated when diſcovered; and, when ſuſceptible of legal proof, ſeverely puniſhed *. CHAP. V.

The

* As the latter part of this aſſertion has been very confidently denied by ſome of the witneſſes that have appeared before a Committee of the Houſe of Commons, I beg leave to trouble the reader with the following caſes in point:

"Spaniſh Town, Jamaica, Feb. 1777. Thomas Fell was indicted for aſſaulting a Negro man ſlave, the property of Richard Welſh, Eſquire, and found guilty. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of twenty pounds, and to be impriſoned in the common gaol one week, and until payment of the fine."

"Kingſton, Jamaica. At the Surry aſſize, 1786; George Geddes was tried, and found guilty on two indictments, for cruelly beating and maiming two of his own ſlaves. Sentenced to pay a fine to the king of £.100, on each indictment, and to be impriſoned ſix months in the jail of Kingſton, and until payment of the fine, and afterwards to find ſecurity for his good behaviour, &c.

"Surry aſſize, 1788. John Durant, a free man of Colour, was indicted and found guilty of aſſaulting a Negro man ſlave, named Sacco, the property of Eliza Wheeler, a free Negro woman. Sentenced to be publicly flogged at the Beef market."

The above are extracts fairly abridged from the records in the proper office in Jamaica. Teſtimonies of the ſame kind, more fully ſtated, from the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher, appear in the Report of the Committee of Privy Council; to whom evidence was likewiſe given, that a White man, in the Iſland of Grenada, was, in the year 1776, convicted of the murder of his own ſlave, and executed. If many other caſes cannot

BOOK IV.

The great, and I fear incurable, defect in the ſyſtem of ſlavery, is the circumſtance already mentioned, that the evidence of the ſlave cannot be admitted againſt a White perſon, even in caſes of the moſt atrocious injury. This is an evil to which, on ſeveral accounts, I fear no direct and efficacious remedy can be applied. In ſome of the iſlands, however, attempts have been made, with an earneſtneſs ſuited to the importance of the ſubject, to ſupply the defect; and expedients have been adopted for that purpoſe, which, in moſt caſes, it may be hoped, will have the good conſequence of a ſolid protection. By the new ſlave act of Grenada, the juſtices are required annually to nominate three freeholders to be *guardians of the ſlaves*; who are to take an oath to ſee the law duly executed. They are not only to inſpect the proviſion-grounds, the clothing, and maintenance, and to enquire into the general treatment of the ſlaves, but alſo to interrogate on oath the managers and overſeers, concerning the due obſervance of the law; and in caſe of breaches thereof, to proſecute the offenders. Of this meaſure the Report of the Privy Council expreſſes the

be cited, it may fairly be ſuppoſed, from thoſe which have been adduced, that freſh occaſion has not often been given. The following ſhocking inſtance, however, happened in the Iſland of Jamaica, in the ſummer of 1791:—William Rattray, a carpenter at the Port of Rio Bueno, in a fit of drunkenneſs, threw an axe at a Negro boy, his own ſlave, which unfortunately killed him on the ſpot. The coroner's inqueſt finding it wilful murder, the man was apprehended, and ſent to jail in irons. He was not, it is true, publicly tried and hanged for the crime; for, being well aſſured that ſuch would be his fate, he thought it beſt to execute juſtice on himſelf, and found in ſuicide an eſcape from the gallows. This fact, which is within my own knowledge, is certainly no proof that the murderers of their own ſlaves eſcape with impunity.

higheſt approbation :—" The obliging managers and overſeers (it obſerves) *to anſwer upon oath*, gives peculiar efficacy to a regulation intended for the benefit of perſons whoſe teſtimony, by the law of the country, could not be heard in a proſecution againſt a White perſon."

In the ſame liberal ſpirit, and co-operating to the ſame generous end, the legiſlature of Jamaica have conſtituted the juſtices and veſtry of each pariſh in that iſland, a *council of protection*, expreſsly for the purpoſe of making full enquiry into the barbarities exerciſed on ſlaves, and bringing the authors to puniſhment at the public expence. With this view, it is enacted, that in caſe *any* information is made before a juſtice of the peace, of the mutilation and confinement of a ſlave, the juſtice is impowered and required to iſſue his warrant to bring the ſlave before him for inſpection. " By this regulation (ſay the aſſembly) it is intended, as far as poſſible, to take from the owner the power of concealment; for, as it is not required that the information ſhould be on oath, the magiſtrate is enabled to obtain a view of the fact, on evidence, which, in other caſes, is, and ought to be, inadmiſſible." By another clauſe in the ſame act, in order more effectually to prevent the deſtruction of Negroes by exceſſive labour and unreaſonable puniſhments, the ſurgeon of every plantation is required to produce and deliver in upon oath, to the juſtices and veſtry, an annual account of the decreaſe and encreaſe of the ſlaves of ſuch plantation, aſſigning alſo the cauſes of ſuch decreaſe, to the beſt of his judgment and belief. On this head the aſſembly remark " how tender and cautious every rational manager muſt neceſſarily be in the puniſhments which he adminiſters, who conſiders, that he has a reſident

BOOK IV.

a reſident inſpector into his conduct, and that the puniſhment of death may follow an abuſe of his authority."

Such are a few of the many forcible and deciſive teſtimonies which the reſident planters in the Weſt Indies have given to the world of their juſt abhorrence of all acts of cruelty and oppreſſion towards the poor people over whom the accident of birth or fortune have inveſted them with power.—They have demonſtrated that their inclination concurs with their intereſt effectually to perform whatever humanity and the ſenſe of reciprocal obligation requires towards their African labourers; and they have armed the law with additional energy, in the hope of curbing thoſe paſſions, ſuppreſſing thoſe frailties, and preventing thoſe exceſſes, which the plenitude of power is too apt to encourage. If this effect cannot, in all caſes and contingencies, be produced, the failure muſt be comprized among the many other inſurmountable difficulties and irreſiſtible evils of life, for which human wiſdom has hitherto in vain ſought a remedy.

The grand (and I admit the moſt plauſible) accuſation againſt the general conduct of the planters, ariſes from the neceſſity they find themſelves under of having an annual recruit of ſlaves from Africa, to fill up the numbers that periſh in the Weſt Indies. So long as it ſhall appear that the natural encreaſe of the Negroes already in the ſugar iſlands, is inſufficient for this purpoſe, it will be contended that this circumſtance, of itſelf, affords an obvious and undeniable proof that it is *not* to individuals alone, the blame of improper treatment ought to be attributed. *That* power, it is urged, muſt in almoſt all caſes be abuſed, and *that* ſlavery muſt be univerſally exceſſive, which give

give occaſion to ſo dreadful a waſte of life. The objection has been anticipated, and in part anſwered, in the preceding pages, by the proof that has been given of the great diſproportion of the ſexes in the yearly importations from Africa. It has been ſhewn from unqueſtionable authority, that one-third only are females. Thus, notwithſtanding every allowance for the Creoles or natives, who may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have encreaſed according to the general laws of nature, there was in the year 1789, in Jamaica alone, an exceſs in its Negro population of 30,000 males. But this is not the whole extent of the evil. It is a truth well-known, that the practice of polygamy, which univerſally prevails in Africa, is alſo very generally adopted among the Negroes in the Weſt Indies; and he who conceives that a remedy may be found for this, by introducing among them the laws of marriage as eſtabliſhed in Europe, is utterly ignorant of their manners, propenſities and ſuperſtitions. It is reckoned in Jamaica, on a moderate computation, that not leſs than ten thouſand of ſuch as are called Head Negroes (artificers and others) poſſeſs from two to four wives. This partial appropriation of the women creates a ſtill greater proportion of ſingle men, and produces all the miſchiefs which are neceſſarily attached to the ſyſtem of polygamy.—In Africa the redundancy of males, occaſioned by an unequal diſtribution of the females, is undoubtedly one of the ſources which ſupplies the European trader with ſlaves; and the conſequences attending it among the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, are a ſhocking licentiouſneſs and profligacy of manners in moſt of their women; who are expoſed to temptations which they cannot reſiſt. They hold chaſtity in ſo little eſtimation,

BOOK IV.

tion, that barrenneſs and frequent abortions, the uſual effects of a promiſcuous intercourſe, are very generally prevalent among them. To the ſame origin may be aſcribed that neglect, and want of maternal affection towards the children produced by former connections, obſervable in many of the Black females.

The circumſtances thus enumerated, operating with combined energy, are abundantly ſufficient to account for the annual diminution in the number of the ſlaves; and I ſee no good reaſon why it ſhould not be frankly admitted, that ſlavery itſelf, in its mildeſt form, is unfriendly to population. The human race, to encreaſe in numbers, muſt be placed in favourable circumſtances; and, unleſs reaſon and ſentiment in ſome degree cooperate with corporeal inſtinct, its offspring is born but to periſh. Among men who are deprived of free agency, or by whom it is but imperfectly enjoyed, neither reaſon nor ſentiment can be the ruling principle. It is needleſs to purſue this argument any farther. Men of reflection, apprized of the fact that ſuch diſproportion between the ſexes exiſts among the Negroes, will draw the proper concluſions from it, and agree that an abolition of the ſlave trade will not afford a remedy.

Thus have I delivered, in a detail which the reader will probably find too diffuſe and minute, ſuch obſervations as have occurred to me on the ſeveral matters, of which I propoſed to treat.—I have declined to enlarge on the various calumnies, and groſs miſrepreſentations, which have been ſpread and encouraged againſt the planters, becauſe it is their misfortune that, on this queſtion, many virtuous, humane and pious men, miſled by popular prejudice, openly concur in, and give their

their ſanction to, the malignant efforts, and uncharitable miſconſtructions of the envious and illiberal. Such proceedings, however, are as impolitic as they are unjuſt. They are equally injurious to the maſter and the ſlave. By exciting among the Negroes a ſpirit of diſcontent and diſobedience, they compel, in many caſes, the benevolent man to reſtrain that hand which otherwiſe would be ſtretched out for their relief; and thus, by rendering their maſters odious in their eyes, theſe unfortunate people (apprized at the ſame time that they are held in a ſubjection which is reprobated in them other country) may be led to make a general ſtruggle for freedom, through deſolation and blood. Far be it from me, however, to impute motives ſo atrocious to any of thoſe reſpectable characters whoſe exertions for an abolition of the ſlave trade are at this time the object of public attention. Moſt of theſe gentlemen, without doubt, conſider this meaſure as only the firſt proceſs in a more extended and liberal plan, which has for its object, by ſtopping the further influx of Negroes into our iſlands, to compel the planters to cheriſh and huſband their preſent ſtock; and ſuſtain it in future by natural encreaſe; until, by milder treatment, and the Chriſtian inſtitutes, the manners of the ſlaves ſhall become ſoftened, their vices corrected, and their diſpoſitions gradually prepared for a total emancipation from that abſolute ſlavery in which they are now held. Such is the language, and, I doubt not, the fond expectation, of many wiſe and excellent perſons.—They conſider that all this will be the neceſſary effect of the interpoſition of parliament, in prohibiting the further importation of African ſlaves into our colonies. I have aſſigned ſuch reaſons as occur to me for believing that this concluſion is

founded

BOOK IV.

founded in error, and will terminate in diſappointment. That I am no friend to ſlavery, in any ſhape, or under any modification, I feel a conſcious aſſurance in my own boſom. Yet that the ſlavery of ſome part of the human ſpecies, in a very abject degree, has exiſted in all ages of the world, among the moſt civiliſed, as well as the moſt barbarous nations, no man who has conſulted the records of hiſtory diſputes. Perhaps, like pain, poverty, ſickneſs, and ſorrow, and all the various other calamities of our condition, it may have been originally interwoven into the conſtitution of the world, for purpoſes inſcrutable to man. Of this I am certain, that an immediate emancipation of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, would involve both maſter and ſlave in one common deſtruction. Thus much however is allowed; the miſeries we cannot wholly remove, we may in ſome caſes mitigate: We may alleviate, though we cannot cure. I have ſhewn that this has been attempted, and in many caſes effected too, by the planters themſelves. What yet remains to be done, conſiſtently with ſound policy, and a juſt regard even to the ſafety and happineſs of the Negroes themſelves, is a ſubject of deep and difficult conſideration. Haſty meaſures, however humane in appearance, and plauſible in theory, may produce the moſt calamitous of all conteſts, a *bellum ſervile*; which will probably never end but in the extermination of either the Whites or the Blacks. Among the great variety of ſchemes which have been offered for further meliorating the condition of the ſlaves, the moſt obvious ſeem to be theſe: Firſt, to render their labour certain and determinate: in other words, to apportion to each Negro, according to his ſtrength, a ſpecific quantity of work to be performed

formed in a given time; allowing to ſuch of them as ſhall have finiſhed their taſk within the time limited, the reſt of the day to themſelves, and pay them wages for extra labour. This is not always practicable, but when it is, I am inclined to think favourably of the ſcheme, becauſe it ſeems calculated to awaken a ſpirit of emulation and induſtry, which the dread of puniſhment can never produce. At the ſame time, it will be neceſſary to ſecure to the Negroes by law, the little property or *peculium* which their own induſtry may thus acquire.—A ſecond propoſal is to make them arbiters on the conduct of each other, by inſtituting a ſort of juries among them for the trial of petty offences. It is conceived that ſuch a meaſure will give them right notions of diſtributive juſtice, and operate powerfully towards their civiliſation and improvement; and I have heard of two inſtances in Jamaica in which it has been tried with ſucceſs; but it is evidently a regulation that muſt be governed by circumſtances, and left principally to the prudence and diſcretion of the owner: an attempt to eſtabliſh and enforce it by law, in their preſent notions of right and wrong, would, I fear, create inextricable confuſion. A third meaſure has been recommended, of leſs doubtful efficacy. It is, to render the Sabbath, what it ought to be, a day of reſt and religious improvement; to which end, the markets on Sundays ought to be ſuppreſſed. They are a diſgrace to a Chriſtian country; and, if a market is found abſolutely neceſſary to encourage the Negroes in labouring for themſelves, ſome other day, once a fortnight, may be appropriated for that purpoſe *. In the mean time,

CHAP. V.

* The objection to this ſcheme is, that it will deprive the planters yearly of twenty-ſix days labour of the whole body of

BOOK IV.

time, inſtead of aboliſhing the ſlave trade by act of parliament, further encouragement ſhould be given to the importation of a greater proportion of African women, until the ſexes are become nearly equal; after which it is probable that, under the preſent humane and improved ſyſtem of laws and manners, their numbers may be kept up by natural encreaſe. If this good conſequence ſhall happily be produced, it cannot be doubted that the ſlave trade will of itſelf gradually diminiſh, and perhaps in a few years ceaſe altogether, and expire without a ſtruggle.

But theſe, and all other regulations which can be deviſed for the protection and improvement of this unfortunate claſs of people, will be of little avail, unleſs, as a preliminary meaſure, they ſhall be exempted from the cruel hardſhip, to which they are now frequently liable, of being ſold by creditors, and made ſubject in a courſe of adminiſtration by executors, to the payment of all debts both of ſimple contract and ſpecialty. This grievance, ſo remorſeleſs and tyrannical in its principle, and ſo dreadful in its effects, though not originally created, is now upheld and confirmed by a Britiſh act of parliament; and no leſs authority is competent to redreſs it. It was an act procured by, and paſſed for the benefit of Britiſh creditors; and I bluſh to add, that its mo-

of their Negroes, without producing the effect intended, as the whole of each Sunday will, in ſuch caſe, be ſpent in drunkenneſs and debauchery at home. If this objection be well founded, let the days which are now given to the ſlaves (excluſive of Sundays) be the days of market, and compel them to work in their own gardens four or five hours every Sunday morning; and attend divine ſervice in the afternoon. Honeſt labour muſt ſurely be more pleaſing to the Almighty, as it is certainly more beneficial to man, than profligacy and riot.

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lives and origin have ſanctified the meaſure even in the opinion of men who are among the loudeſt of the declaimers againſt ſlavery and the ſlave trade *. Thus the odious ſeverity of the Roman law, which declared ſentient beings to be *inter res*, is revived and perpetuated in a country that pretends to Chriſtianity! In a few years a good Negro gets comfortably eſtabliſhed, has built himſelf a houſe, obtained a wife, and begins to ſee a young family riſing about him. His proviſion-ground, the creation of his own induſtry, and the ſtaff of his exiſtence, affords him not only ſupport, but the means alſo of adding ſomething to the mere neceſſaries of life. In this ſituation, he is ſeized on by the ſheriff's officer, forcibly ſeparated from his wife and children, dragged to public auction, purchaſed by a ſtranger, and perhaps ſent to terminate his miſerable exiſtence in the mines of Mexico, excluded for ever from the light of heaven; and all this without any crime or demerit on his part, real or pretended. He is puniſhed becauſe his maſter is unfortunate. I do not believe that any caſe of force or fraud in Africa can be productive of greater miſery than this! Neither can it be urged, that, like ſome unauthorized caſes of cruelty in the Weſt Indies, it occurs but ſeldom: unhappily, it occurs every day, and, under the preſent ſyſtem, will conti-

CHAP. V.

* The act alluded to, is the 5th George II. c. 7. entitled, "An act for the more eaſy recovery of debts in his Majeſty's plantations." Of the moſt violent of the petitioners to parliament, not one has ſolicited the repeal of this execrable ſtatute. The ſociety in the Old Jewry, though apprized by *myſelf* of the grievance, its origin and the remedy, are ſilent on the ſubject. They are men of the world, and with all their philanthropy, probably conſider no rights ſo ſacred as thoſe of creditors.

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BOOK IV.

nue to occur, ſo long as men ſhall continue to be unfortunate.

Let this ſtatute then be totally repealed. It is injurious to the national character; it is diſgraceful to humanity. Let the Negroes be attached to the land, and ſold with it. The good effect of a ſimilar regulation in the ſyſtem of ancient villenage has been pointed out and illuſtrated by a great many writers; and thoſe perſons who now oppoſe an extenſion of the ſame benefit to the Negroes in the Weſt Indies, would do well to reflect, that while they arraign the conduct of the reſident planters towards their ſlaves, they are themſelves abettors and ſupporters of the greateſt of all the grievances under which thoſe unfortunate people continue to ſuffer.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

APPEN-

APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

NUMBER I.

APPENDIX.

As a ſupplement to ſuch part of the preceding book, as relates to the treatment of the Negroes in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, it is thought neceſſary to preſent the reader with the CONSOLIDATED SLAVE ACT OF JAMAICA, *paſſed the 2d of March, 1792. The Slave Act of 1788 is already before the public, and its proviſions have been ſpoken of with much approbation, in the very accurate and comprehenſive ſurvey of the ſlave laws of the ſeveral iſlands, which the Lords of the Committee of Council have annexed to their Report on the Slave Trade, as drawn up by Mr. Reeves, Law Clerk to the Committee. It is preſumed the preſent law will demonſtrate to general conviction, that the legiſlature of Jamaica, availing themſelves as well of the reproaches of their enemies, as of the ſuggeſtions of their friends, have given all poſſible encouragement to the raiſing of Negro children in the iſland, and ſecured to their labourers as much freedom, and as great a latitude of enjoyment of the neceſſaries, conveniences, and comforts of life as can be done conſiſtently with their own preſervation.*

☞ The chief alterations between this law and that of 1788 (which is now repealed) are printed in *Italic*.

JAMAICA,

BOOK IV. JAMAICA, ſſ.

An ACT to repeal an act, intituled, "An act to repeal ſeveral acts and clauſes of acts reſpecting ſlaves, and for the better order and government of ſlaves, and for other purpoſes;" and alſo to repeal the ſeveral acts and clauſes of acts, which were repealed by the act intituled as aforeſaid; and for conſolidating, and bringing into one act, the ſeveral laws relating to ſlaves, and for giving them further protection and ſecurity; for altering the mode of trial of ſlaves charged with capital offences; and for other purpoſes.

Preamble. WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws reſpecting the order and government of ſlaves, ſhould be conſolidated, and brought into one law, in order to prevent confuſion, and that juſtice may more effectually be executed reſpecting ſlaves; and whereas it is found neceſſary, for the purpoſe of giving further ſecurity to ſlaves, that the mode of trial of ſlaves charged with capital offences ſhould be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is neceſſary that all the herein after-mentioned laws, and clauſes of laws, ſhould be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the aſſembly of this your majeſty's iſland of Jamaica, do moſt humbly beſeech your majeſty that it may be enacted, Be it therefore Enacted, by the lieutenant governor, council, and aſſembly of the

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ſaid iſland, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the ſame, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, all and every the ſaid herein before-mentioned laws, and clauſes of laws, and every part thereof, be and ſtand annulled, repealed, and made void, and are hereby annulled, repealed, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever; any thing in the ſaid laws, and clauſes of laws, or in any other law, contained to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

APPENDIX.

Laws and clauſes of laws to be repealed.

II. And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of ſlaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for and ſupplying them with good and wholeſome proviſions, and proper and ſufficient clothing, and all ſuch other things as may be proper and neceſſary for them, during their being in a ſtate of ſlavery: For which end and purpoſe, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, every maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatſoever, ſhall allot and appoint a ſufficient quantity of land for every ſlave he ſhall have in poſſeſſion upon, or belonging to, ſuch plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every ſuch ſlave, and allow ſuch ſlave ſufficient time to work the ſame, in order to provide him, her, or themſelves, with ſufficient proviſions for his, her, or their, maintenance: and alſo, all ſuch maſters, owners, or poſſeſſors of plantations, pens, or other lands, ſhall plant upon ſuch plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground-proviſions, at leaſt one acre of

Proprietors, &c. to allot land for every ſlave, and to allow him to cultivate it.

BOOK IV.

land for every *ten* negroes * that he ſhall be poſſeſſed of on ſuch plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the negro-grounds aforeſaid; which lands ſhall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

III. *And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, or his or her overſeer or chief manager, ſhall perſonally inſpect into the condition of ſuch negro-grounds once in every month at the leaſt, in order to ſee that the ſame are cultivated and kept up in a proper manner, of which oath ſhall be made, as in this act is hereafter directed.* And whereas it may happen, that in many plantations, pens, ſettlements, and towns, in this iſland, there may not be lands proper for the purpoſes aforeſaid; then, and in that caſe, the maſters, owners, or poſſeſſors, do, by ſome other ways and means, make good and ample proviſion for all ſuch ſlaves as they ſhall be poſſeſſed of, equal to the value of two ſhillings and ſix-pence currency per week for each ſlave, in order that they may be properly ſupported and maintained, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Slaves otherwiſe provided for.

IV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of any ſlave or ſlaves, whether in his or her own right, or as attorney, guardian, truſtee, executor, or otherwiſe, ſhall diſcard or turn away any ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, on account of or by reaſon of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves being rendered incapable

Owners obliged to provide for diſabled ſlaves.

* In the former act an acre of proviſions was allotted to every *four* negroes, excluſive as above, but it was found an exorbitant and unneceſſary allowance, and the alteration was made as it now ſtands expreſsly that the law might be enforced.

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of labour or ſervice to ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, by means of ſickneſs, age, or infirmity; but every ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, as aforeſaid, ſhall be, and he is hereby obliged, to keep all ſuch ſlave or ſlaves upon his, her, or their properties, and to find and provide them with wholeſome neceſſaries of life, and not ſuffer ſuch ſlave or ſlaves as aforeſaid to be in want thereof, or to wander about, or become burthenſome to others for ſuſtenance, under the penalty of ten pounds for every ſuch offence, to be recovered in a ſummary manner, before any one juſtice of the peace in this iſland; who is hereby authorized, empowered, and required, to cauſe ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, his, her, or their attorney or agent, and ſuch other perſons as he ſhall judge neceſſary, to be ſummoned before him, to enable him to judge and determine of the propriety of ſuch information, and whether ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, ought to incur the ſaid penalty; and in the mean time, and until ſuch trial can be had, the ſaid juſtice of the peace, on his own view, or upon the information of any white perſon, upon oath, is hereby empowered and required, to take up ſuch wandering, ſick, aged, or infirm ſlave or ſlaves, and to lodge him, her, or them, in the neareſt work-houſe, there to be clothed and fed, but not worked, at the expence of the maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, until ſuch trial as aforeſaid can be had; and if it ſhall appear to the ſaid juſtice, on ſuch trial, that the party or parties ſo complained of is or are guilty of the ſaid offence, and ſhall refuſe to pay the ſaid ten pounds, and the fees to ſuch work-houſe for the maintenance of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, together with the charges of the conviction, the ſaid juſtice is hereby required and empowered, under the penalty of

BOOK IV. twenty pounds, forthwith, by warrant under his hand and ſeal, directed to the conſtable, to commit ſuch offender or offenders to the common gaol of the county or pariſh where the offence ſhall be committed, there to remain until he or ſhe ſhall pay the ſaid ſum of ten pounds, and charges as aforeſaid; one moiety of which ſaid fine ſhall be paid to the informer, and the other moiety ſhall be paid into the hands of the churchwardens of ſuch pariſh, for the poor of ſaid pariſh; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Slaves to be clothed by their owner once a year.

V. And, for the better encouragement of ſlaves to do their duty to their maſters, owners, or poſſeſſors, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, ſhall, once in every year, provide and give to each ſlave they ſhall be poſſeſſed of proper and ſufficient clothing, to be approved of by the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh where ſuch maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſuch ſlaves reſides, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Owners to inſtruct ſlaves in the Chriſtian religion.

VI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all maſters and miſtreſſes, owners, or, in their abſence, overſeers of ſlaves, ſhall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the inſtruction of their ſlaves in the principles of the Chriſtian religion, whereby to facilitate their converſion, and ſhall do their utmoſt endeavours to fit them for baptiſm, and as ſoon as conveniently they can, cauſe to be baptiſed all ſuch as they can make ſenſible of a Deity and the Chriſtian faith.

Owners to give in an ac-

VII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, proprietor,

prietor, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, his or her overſeer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their ſlaves and ſtock to the juſtices and veſtry, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year, ſhall, under the penalty of fifty pounds for every neglect, alſo give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-proviſions, over and above the negro-grounds, upon ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of ſuch proviſions; and, where there are not lands proper for ſuch purpoſes, then an account, on oath, of the proviſion made on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the ſlaves thereon; and ſhall alſo, at the ſame time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the cloathing actually ſerved to each ſlave on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, for the approbation of the juſtices and veſtry aforeſaid; *and ſhall, likewiſe, at the ſame time declare, on oath, that he hath inſpected the negro-grounds (where ſuch grounds are allotted) of ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, according to the directions of this act.*

APPENDIX.

Account of proviſion-ground.

VIII. And, in order to encourage ſlaves for every good and worthy act that they ſhall do, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every ſlave or ſlaves that ſhall take up any runaway ſlave, or inform againſt any perſon who ſhall have or conceal any runaway ſlave or ſlaves, ſo that ſuch runaway ſlave or ſlaves may be taken and reſtored to his owner or owners; every ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſo informing, ſhall be entitled to ſuch reward as any juſtice ſhall in reaſon and juſtice think juſt and reaſonable, and be paid by ſuch

Premium to ſlaves for informing on runaways, &c.

BOOK IV.

such person or persons as such justice shall determine ought to pay the same, not exceeding twenty shillings.

The killing or apprehending rebellious slaves rewarded.

IX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any slave or slaves shall kill or take any slave or slaves in actual rebellion, he or they shall receive from the church-wardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed, the sum of three pounds, and the sum of five pounds if taken alive, and a blue cloth coat, with a red cross on the right shoulder, to be paid by the churchwardens of the respective parishes where such slave or slaves shall have been killed or taken; the whole expence whereof shall be reimbursed by the receiver-general for the time being, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated.

Persons mutilating slaves fined and imprisoned.

X. And, in order to prevent any person from mutilating or dismembering any slave or slaves, be it further Enacted by the authority aforesaid, That if any master, mistress, owner, possessor, or other person whatsoever, shall, at his, her, or their own will and pleasure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their, knowledge, sufferance, privity, or consent, mutilate or dismember any slave or slaves, he, she, or they, shall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the supreme court of judicature, or in any of the assize courts of this island; and, upon conviction, shall be punished by fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds, and imprisonment, not exceeding twelve months, for each and every slave so mutilated or dismembered; and such punishment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for

for recovery of damages for or on account of the ſame: And, in very atrocious caſes, where the owner of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be convicted of ſuch offence, the court before whom ſuch offender ſhall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in caſe they ſhall think it neceſſary, for the future protection of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, to declare him, her, or them, free and diſcharged from all manner of ſervitude, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever: And, in all ſuch caſes, the court are hereby empowered and authoriſed, if to them it ſhall appear neceſſary, to order and direct the ſaid fine of one hundred pounds to be paid to the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh to which the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves belonged, to the uſe of the ſaid pariſh, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, in conſideration thereof, paying to ſuch of the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves, ſo made free, the ſum of ten pounds per annum, for his, her, or their maintenance and ſupport during life; and in caſe any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall ſuffer any before-deſcribed mutilations, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, on his, her, or their application to any juſtice of the peace, the ſaid juſtice of the peace ſhall be, and is hereby, directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to ſend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to the neareſt workhouſe where ſuch offence ſhall be committed, and ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be there ſafely kept, and carefully attended, at the expence of ſuch pariſh, until ſuch time as there may be a legal meeting of the juſtices and veſtry of ſuch pariſh; which juſtices and veſtry, ſo met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves: And the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, ſo met, are hereby directed and empowered, to make further and full enquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the

Mutilated ſlaves, in certain caſes, declared free.

Juſtices to enquire into ſuch mutilations, and

BOOK IV.

the mutilation of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves; and, if to them it ſhall appear proper, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry are hereby empowered and required to proſecute to effect ſuch owner or owners; the expence of which proſecution ſhall be paid by the pariſh where ſuch offence ſhall be committed: And in caſe the owner or owners of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall appear capable of paying the coſt and charges of ſuch before-mentioned proſecution, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry are hereby empowered to commence ſuit or ſuits againſt ſuch owner or owners of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, and recover all coſts and charges out of purſe, by them laid out and expended in ſuch ſuit or ſuits: And the keeper or ſuperviſor of the workhouſe where ſuch mutilated ſlave or ſlaves ſhall have been firſt committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the firſt meeting of the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh where the offence was committed, to produce ſuch mutilated ſlave or ſlaves, for the inſpection and direction of ſuch juſtices and veſtry, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect, in not producing before ſuch juſtices and veſtry ſuch ſlave or ſlaves.

proſecute the offenders.

Owners ſued for coſts.

Juſtices to iſſue their warrants to bring mutilated ſlaves before them.

XI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in caſe any juſtice of the peace ſhall receive any complaint *or probable intelligence from any ſlave or otherwiſe*, that any ſlave or ſlaves is or are ſo mutilated, *or is or are confined without ſufficient ſupport*, it ſhall and may be lawful for ſuch juſtice of the peace, and he is hereby empowered and required, forthwith to iſſue his warrant to any conſtable, ordering him immediately to proceed to the place where ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſo mutilated, are confined, and ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to *releaſe and* bring before ſuch

ſuch juſtice, who, on view of the fact, is hereby authorized to ſend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to the workhouſe for protection, and who is there to be kept, but not to be worked, until enquiry ſhall be made into the fact according to law.

Perſons wilfully killing ſlaves to ſuffer death.

XII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, if any perſon hereafter ſhall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly, kill, or cauſe to be killed, any negro or other ſlave, ſuch perſon, ſo offending, ſhall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and ſhall ſuffer death accordingly, for the ſaid offence: Provided always, That ſuch conviction ſhall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary thereof, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Perſons cruelly beating ſlaves, how puniſhable.

XIII. And be it further Enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, any perſon or perſons that ſhall wantonly or cruelly whip, *maltreat*, beat, bruiſe, wound, or ſhall impriſon or keep in confinement, without ſufficient ſupport, any ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall be ſubject to be indicted for the ſame in the ſupreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of aſſize, or courts of quarter-ſeſſions in this iſland; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, ſhe, or, they, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, by fine or impriſonment, *or both*, as the judges or juſtices of ſuch courts ſhall think proper to inflict; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding: And ſuch puniſhment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought

BOOK IV. brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the ſame, in caſe ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall not be the property of the offender.

Arbitrary puniſhment reſtrained.

XIV. And, in order to reſtrain arbitrary puniſhments, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no ſlave on any plantation or ſettlement, or in any of the workhouſes or gaols in this iſland, ſhall receive more than ten laſhes at one time and for one offence, unleſs the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, or adminiſtrator, or overſeer, of ſuch plantation or ſettlement, having ſuch ſlave in his care, or ſuperviſor of ſuch workhouſe, or keeper of ſuch gaol, ſhall be preſent; and that no ſuch owner, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or overſeer, ſuperviſor, or gaol-keeper, ſhall, on any account, puniſh a ſlave with more than thirty-nine laſhes at one time, and for one offence, *nor inflict, or ſuffer to be inflicted, ſuch laſt-mentioned puniſhment, nor any other number of laſhes, in the ſame day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effects of any former puniſhment*, under the penalty of *ten* pounds * for every offence, to be recovered againſt the perſon directing or permitting ſuch puniſhment.

Putting iron collars or other chains on ſlaves, prohibited.

XV. *And whereas a miſchievous practice hath ſometimes prevailed of puniſhing ill-diſpoſed ſlaves, and ſuch as are apt to abſcond from their owners, by fixing or cauſing to be fixed round the necks of ſuch ſlaves, an iron collar with projecting bars or hooks to prevent the future deſertion of ſuch ſlaves; be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That ſuch practice is hereby declared to be utterly unlawful, and that no perſon ſhall, on any pretence*

* In the former act £.5.

whatſoever,

whatſoever, under the penalty of fifty pounds, puniſh any negro or other ſlave, whether his own property or otherwiſe, by fixing, or cauſing to be fixed, any iron or other collar round the neck of ſuch ſlave, or by loading the body or limbs of ſuch ſlave, for any offence whatſoever, with chains, irons, or weights, of any kind, other than ſuch as are abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring the perſon of ſuch ſlave; and all and every the juſtices of the peace, within this iſland, are hereby authoriſed, directed, and required, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, on information and view of ſuch offence, to order ſuch collar, chains, irons, or weights, to be immediately taken off from the ſlave or ſlaves wearing or bearing the ſame.

XVI. And whereas, from the deceaſe and removal of reſidence of many proprietors of ſlaves, and other circumſtances, and from the manumiſſion of negro, mulatto, and other, ſlaves, without any ſuitable proviſion being made for their future maintenance, many unhappy objects, afflicted with contagious diſtempers, or diſabled from labour by ſickneſs, old age, and otherwiſe, and, having no owners, prove dangerous, or become a burthen and nuiſance to the ſeveral towns and pariſhes of this iſland: For remedy whereof, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the juſtices and veſtrymen of the ſeveral towns and pariſhes in this iſland be empowered, and they are hereby empowered, to lay a tax upon the inhabitants of the ſaid ſeveral towns and pariſhes, in the ſame manner as the parochial taxes are uſually laid, for the purpoſe of raiſing ſuch a ſum as they ſhall judge ſufficient to provide for the maintenance, clothing, medical care, and attendance, in the workhouſes or other convenient places of the ſaid ſeveral towns and pariſhes of this

Juſtices and veſtry to ſupport diſabled negroes.

BOOK IV. this iſland, of ſuch negro, mulatto, or other, ſlaves, or other unhappy objects as aforeſaid: And the magiſtrates reſpectively of ſuch town and pariſh are hereby empowered and required, upon application being made to them, or either of them, to order all ſuch objects as aforeſaid to be removed and conveyed to the reſpective workhouſes of each pariſh where (if a ſlave) the former proprietor or proprietors, owner or owners, of ſuch ſlave lived or reſided; or, if a perſon of colour made free, where the perſon or perſons who manumiſed or ſet free ſuch perſon of colour reſided before his deceaſe, there to be lodged and taken care of as aforeſaid; And the magiſtrates and veſtries of the ſeveral towns and pariſhes, as aforeſaid, are hereby empowered and required to make from time to time all ſuch humane and ſalutary regulations, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, as to them ſhall appear neceſſary and expedient.

How ſuch ſlaves are diſpoſed of.

XVII. And whereas it is abſolutely neceſſary, that the ſlaves in this iſland ſhould be kept in due obedience to their owners, and in due ſubordination to the white people in general, and, as much as in the power of the legiſlature, all means and opportunities of ſlaves committing rebellious conſpiracies, and other crimes, to the ruin and deſtruction of the white people, and others in this iſland, prevented, and that proper puniſhments ſhould be appointed for all crimes to be by them committed, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no ſlave, *ſuch only excepted as are going, with firewood, graſs, fruit, proviſions, or ſmall ſtock and other goods, which they may lawfully ſell, to market, and returning therefrom,* ſhall hereafter be ſuffered or permitted to go out of his or her maſter or owner's plantation or ſettlement, or to travel from one town or place to another, unleſs

Owners muſt not allow their ſlaves to travel without tickets,

unleſs ſuch ſlave ſhall have a ticket from his maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, expreſſing particularly the time of ſuch ſlave's ſetting out, and where he or ſhe is going, and the time limited for his or her return, under a penalty not exceeding forty ſhillings for every ſlave ſo offending, to be recovered from the maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, in a ſummary manner, before any one juſtice of the peace, by warrant of diſtreſs, complaint being made to him upon oath, unleſs the maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, of ſuch ſlave ſhall prove, upon oath before any juſtice of the peace of the pariſh or precinct where ſuch maſter, owner, employer, or overſeer, may or ſhall live, or happen to be, that he did give the ſaid ſlave ſuch ticket as aforeſaid, or that ſuch ſlave went away without his conſent; and if ſuch juſtice ſhall refuſe or neglect his duty, either in cauſing the penalty to be forthwith levied, on complaint being made to him as aforeſaid, on the owner, overſeer, or any other perſon, who ſhall ſuffer a ſlave, being under his or their direction, to go without a ticket as aforeſaid, every juſtice ſo offending ſhall forfeit the ſum of five pounds; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding *.

under penalty.

Penalty on neglect of duty.

XVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That for the future, all ſlaves in this iſland ſhall be allowed the uſual number of holidays that were allowed at the uſual ſeaſons of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide: Provided, That, at every ſuch reſpective ſeaſon, no two holidays ſhall be allowed to follow or ſuc-

Slaves allowed holidays.

* In the former Act it was alſo provided that the ſlave himſelf, going without a ticket, ſhould be puniſhed, which is now omitted.

ceed

BOOK IV.

ceed immediately one after the other, except at Chriſtmas, when they ſhall be allowed Chriſtmas-day, and alſo the day immediately ſucceeding; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding: And if any maſter, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or ſettlement, or the overſeer of ſuch plantation or ſettlement, ſhall preſume, at the ſeaſons aforeſaid, to allow any holidays to any ſlave belonging to any ſuch plantation or ſettlement, other than is directed by this act to be given, every perſon ſo offending, ſhall forfeit the ſum of five pounds.

XIX. And whereas it hath been uſual and cuſtomary with the planters in this iſland, to allow their ſlaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own proviſion-grounds (excluſive of Sundays), except during the time of crop; but the ſame not being compulſory, Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the ſlaves belonging to, or employed on, every plantation or ſettlement, ſhall, over and above the holidays herein before-mentioned, be allowed one day in every fortnight, to cultivate their own proviſion-grounds, excluſive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered againſt the overſeer or other perſon having the care of ſuch ſlaves.

Slaves allowed one day in every fortnight.

XX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every field-ſlave on ſuch plantation or ſettlement ſhall, on work days, be allowed, according to cuſtom, half an hour for breakfaſt, and two hours for dinner; and that no ſlaves ſhall be compelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of ſeven at night, except

Time allowed for breakfaſt, &c.

cept during the time of crop, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered againſt the overſeer, or other perſon having the care of ſuch ſlaves.

Penalty for ſuffering unlawful aſſemblies of ſlaves.

XXI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any maſter, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or ſettlement, ſhall hereafter ſuffer any ſtrange ſlaves, exceeding twelve in number, to aſſemble together and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or ſhells, upon any plantation, pen, or ſettlement, or in any yard or place under his, her, or their care or management, or ſhall not endeavour to diſperſe or prevent the ſame, by immediately giving notice thereof to the next magiſtrate or commiſſioned officer, that a proper force may be ſent to diſperſe the ſaid ſlaves; every ſuch maſter, owner, guardian, or attorney, ſhall, for every ſuch offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the ſupreme court of judicature or courts of aſſize, pay a fine of fifty pounds to his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for and towards the ſupport of the government of this iſland, and the contingent charges thereof: Provided nevertheleſs, That information of ſuch offence ſhall be made, upon oath, before any of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, within the ſpace of five days after the commiſſion of ſuch offence.

Civil or military officers to ſuppreſs ſuch aſſemblies.

XXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all officers, civil and military, ſhall be, and are hereby empowered and required, to enter into any plantation, ſettlement, or other place, to diſperſe all ſuch unlawful aſſemblies, and to ſuppreſs and prevent all unlawful drummings or other noiſe, as before mentioned;

BOOK IV.

tioned; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XXIII. And whereas it has been found by experience, that rebellions have been often concerted at negro dances, and nightly meetings of the ſlaves of different plantations, when ſuch ſlaves are generally intoxicated; and as it has been found alſo, that thoſe meetings tend much to injure the healths of negroes; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any overſeer, or in his abſence, any book-keeper, or other white perſon, having the care and management of any plantation or ſettlement, ſhall ſuffer any ſlaves to aſſemble together, and beat their military drums, or blow their horns or ſhells, every ſuch overſeer, book-keeper, or other white perſon ſo offending, ſhall, for every ſuch offence, upon conviction thereof, upon an indictment in the ſupreme court of judicature, or before the juſtices of aſſize, ſuffer ſix months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize: Provided information is made, upon oath as aforeſaid, before one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, within five days after the commiſſion of ſuch offence: And provided always nevertheleſs, that nothing herein contained ſhall be conſtrued to prevent any maſter, owner, or proprietor, of any plantation or ſettlement, or the overſeer thereof, from granting liberty to the ſlaves of ſuch plantation or ſettlement only, for aſſembling together upon ſuch plantation or ſettlement, and playing and diverting themſelves in any innocent amuſements, ſo as they do not make uſe of military drums, horns, or ſhells; but that they ſhall and may grant ſuch liberty when and as often as they pleaſe, any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Overſeers, &c. who ſuffer ſuch aſſemblies, to be impriſoned.

Proviſo.

notwithſtanding: Provided, that ſuch amuſements are put an end to by twelve of the clock at night. APPENDIX.

XXIV. *And, in order to prevent riots and nightly meetings among negro and other ſlaves, to the diſturbance of the public peace, and the endangering their healths, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all negro burials ſhall in future take place in the day time only, ſo that the ſame may be ended before ſunſet; and if any maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, his or her overſeer, or chief manager, ſhall knowingly ſuffer or permit the burial of any ſlave otherwiſe than as before directed, he ſhall forfeit the ſum of fifty pounds.* Negro burials to be in day time.

XXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, ſhall hereafter ſuffer any unlawful aſſembly of ſlaves at his or her houſe or ſettlement, every ſuch Indian, free negro, or mulatto, ſhall, upon due conviction thereof, ſuffer impriſonment, not exceeding ſix months: Provided nevertheleſs, That information thereof ſhall be given, on oath, within five days of ſuch unlawful meeting. Impriſonment for negroes ſuffering aſſemblies at their houſes.

XXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all ſlaves who ſhall hereafter be found to have in his or their cuſtody, any fire-arms, gun-powder, ſlugs, or ball, ſuch ſlave being thereof convicted, before two juſtices, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid juſtices ſhall think proper to inflict, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouſe, not exceeding the term of ſix months. Slaves not to keep fire-arms.

BOOK IV.

Puniſhment on ſlaves offering violence to whites.

XXVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any ſlave ſhall offer any violence, by ſtriking or otherwiſe, to any white perſon, ſuch ſlave, upon due and proper proof, ſhall, upon conviction, be puniſhed with death, *tranſportation*, or confinement to hard labour, not exceeding two years, or otherwiſe as the court ſhall, in their diſcretion, think proper to inflict: Provided ſuch ſtriking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overſeers, or perſons entruſted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners perſons or goods.

Puniſhment on ſlaves harbouring ſlaves.

XXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That any ſlave or ſlaves, who ſhall knowingly harbour or conceal any runaway ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall be liable to be tried for the ſame at the ſlave court hereinafter appointed, and on conviction, ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the juſtices at the ſaid court ſhall think proper to inflict, *not extending to life or limb.*

Who are deemed runaways.

XXIX. And whereas it is very dangerous to the peace and ſafety of this iſland, to ſuffer ſlaves to continue out as runaways, and it is abſolutely neceſſary to declare and make known to the public what ſlaves ſhall be deemed ſuch; be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, any ſlave or ſlaves who *ſhall be abſent from his owner or employer, without leave, for the ſpace of ten days, and* ſhall be found at the diſtance of eight miles from the houſe, plantation, or other ſettlement, to which he, ſhe, or they belong, without a ticket or other permit to paſs, *except as before excepted, in going to and returning from market*, ſhall be deemed a runaway.

XXX. And

APPENDIX.

XXX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That any perſon whatſoever, who ſhall apprehend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall, for every one ſo apprehended, be entitled to receive from the owner, employer, overſeer or manager of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, the ſum of ten ſhillings, and no more, beſides mile-money, at the rate of one ſhilling per mile for the firſt five miles, and ſix pence per mile afterwards: Provided ſuch ſlave or ſlaves had abſented him, her, or themſelves, ten days, without the privity, knowledge, or conſent, of the proprietor, overſeer, or other white perſon, reſiding on the plantation or ſettlement to which ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall belong; which time of abſence of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be declared on the oath of ſuch proprietor, overſeer, or other white perſon, as aforeſaid, if the party taking up ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall require it: But it is the true intent and meaning of this act, that every perſon or perſons who ſhall apprehend any ſlave or ſlaves, that uſually reſide in, or are employed in, any of the towns of this ſliand, and that at the time are actually runaway or abſent from their owner, employer, or manager's ſervice, ten days, ſhall be entitled to the reward of ten ſhillings, although the ſlave or ſlaves ſhould not be eight miles diſtant from their employer's habitation: Provided nevertheleſs, That nothing in this act contained, ſhall be conſtrued to extend to an allowance of the ſaid ſum of ten ſhillings and mile money, in addition to the ſum allowed to maroon negroes for apprehending runaways: And provided alſo, That it is not hereby intended to deprive the ſaid maroons of their legal and eſtabliſhed reward of forty ſhillings for each negro.

Reward for ſecuring runaways.

Proviſo.

BOOK IV.

How runaways are to be diſpoſed of.

XXXI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the perſon or perſons ſo apprehending ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall convey him, her, or them, to their reſpective owner, employer, or manager, or to the workhouſe of ſuch pariſh, if any workhouſe is eſtabliſhed there; and in caſe of there being no workhouſe, to the next gaol, in caſe the owner, employer, or manager, of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall refuſe to pay the ſaid ſum of ten ſhillings, and mile-money as aforeſaid, or take the oath as to the time of abſence; in which caſe, the gaol or workhouſe keeper is hereby required and ordered to receive ſuch ſlave or ſlaves into his or their cuſtody, and to pay the party delivering ſuch ſlave or ſlaves the ſaid ſum of ten ſhillings, and mile-money as aforeſaid, and no more, for each ſlave ſo delivered, under the penalty of five pounds: Provided nevertheleſs, That if ſuch ſlave or ſlaves is or are brought to any gaol or workhouſe by any white perſon, free negro, free mulatto, or Indian, no gaoler or workhouſe-keeper ſhall pay ſuch ſum before ſuch perſon ſhall have taken an oath, (which oath ſuch gaoler or workhouſe-keeper is hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to file in his office and produce, whenever thereunto required by the owner or poſſeſſor of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves) that the ſlave or ſlaves ſo apprehended was or were at the reputed diſtance of eight miles from the houſe, plantation, or ſettlement, to which ſuch ſlave or ſlaves do belong (except as before is excepted), and that ſuch ſlave or ſlaves had no ticket or other permit in writing from his maſter, miſtreſs, overſeer, employer, or manager, at the time ſuch ſlave or ſlaves was or were apprehended, for him, her, or them, to paſs unmoleſted, and that the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves had been carried firſt to the owner,

owner, employer, or manager, of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves (provided ſuch owner, employer, or manager, ſhall be in the pariſh in which ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be apprehended), and that the maſter, miſtreſs, overſeer, or manager, had refuſed to pay for the apprehending him, her, or them, according to the intent and meaning of this act. APPENDIX.

XXXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no ticket ſhall be granted to any ſlave or ſlaves for any time exceeding one calendar month. Time of tickets limited.

XXXIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, on the twenty-eighth day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforeſaid), or within thirty days after, the owner, overſeer, or manager of every plantation, pen, or ſettlement, ſhall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the ſlaves of ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of fifty pounds, to be recovered from the owner of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement. Account of births and deaths muſt be given in.

XXXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, if the not giving in upon oath ſuch ſeveral accounts ſhall be owing to the neglect of the overſeer or manager of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, it ſhall and may be lawful for the owner, proprietor, or poſſeſſor of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, to ſtop and detain the penalty he or ſhe ſhall ſuffer by this law, out of the wages of ſuch overſeer or manager. Overſeer to pay if his neglect.

XXXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the doctor or ſurgeon of Surgeons to give in an account

BOOK IV.

of ſlaves dying.

of every plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, ſhall, on the twenty-eighth day of December, in every year (the time of giving in as aforeſaid), or within thirty days after, give in an account, on oath, of the deaths of ſuch ſlaves as have died in the preceding year, or during ſuch time as ſuch doctor or ſurgeon hath had the care of the ſlaves on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, with the cauſe of ſuch deaths, to the beſt of his knowledge, judgment, and belief, under the penalty of one hundred pounds for every neglect: And in caſe it ſhall appear, to the ſatisfaction of the juſtices and veſtry, from the return of the owner, overſeer, or manager aforeſaid, that there has been a natural encreaſe in the number of ſlaves on any ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, the overſeer ſhall be entitled to receive from the owner or proprietor of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, the ſum of *three* pounds * for every ſlave born on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, in the time aforeſaid, and which ſhall be then living, *after deducting the decreaſe;* and the owner or proprietor of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, ſhall have a deduction from the firſt of his or her public taxes that ſhall become due, of the ſum ſo paid to the overſeer, on producing a certificate of the juſtices and veſtry of ſuch encreaſe, and a receipt of the overſeer for the ſum ſo paid.

Encouragement for encreaſe of ſlaves.

Further encouragement for encreaſe of ſlaves.

XXXVI. *And, in order that further encouragement may be given to the encreaſe and protection of Negro infants, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every female ſlave, who ſhall have ſix children living, ſhall be exempted*

* In the former act, *twenty ſhillings.*

from

from hard labour in the field or otherwiſe, and the owner or poſſeſſor of every ſuch female ſlave ſhall be excmpted from all manner of taxes for ſuch female ſlave, any thing in the act commonly called the poll-tax law, or any other of the tax laws of this iſland paſſed, or annually to be paſſed, to the contrary notwithſtanding; and a deduction ſhall be made for all ſuch female ſlaves from the taxes of ſuch owner or poſſeſſor, by certificate of the juſtices and veſtry, at the ſame time, and in manner as directed in the caſe of an annual encreaſe of the number of ſlaves as aforeſaid: Provided nevertheleſs, That proof be given on oath, to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, not only that the requiſite number of children, together with the mother, are living; but alſo that the mother is exempted from all manner of field or other hard labour, and is provided with the means of an eaſy and comfortable maintenance.

Penalty on free negroes, &c. granting tickets to ſlaves.

XXXVII. And whereas, the more effectually to conceal runaway ſlaves, or prevent their being apprehended, tickets are given by Indians, free negroes, or free mulattoes, be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, granting or giving ſuch ticket, with ſuch intent, ſhall be deemed guilty of forgery, and ſhall be liable to be tried for the ſaid offence before the ſupreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of aſſize in this iſland where the offence ſhall be committed; and, on conviction, ſhall ſuffer the loſs of freedom, tranſportation, or ſuch other puniſhment as the court, in their diſcretion, ſhall think proper to inflict.

XXXVIII. And

BOOK IV.

Whites granting ſuch tickets puniſhable.

XXXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if ſuch ticket ſhall be granted or given by any white perſon, with ſuch intent as aforeſaid, to any ſlave or ſlaves, before or after his or their abſenting themſelves from their owner, employer, overſeer, or manager, ſuch white perſon ſhall be deemed guilty of forgery, and ſhall be liable to be tried for the ſame before the ſupreme court of judicature, or either of the aſſize courts of this iſland, where the offence ſhall be committed; and, on conviction, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the court, in their diſcretion, ſhall think proper to inflict.

Keepers of gaols, &c. to advertiſe runaways,

XXXIX. And to the end that the owners and proprietors of runaway ſlaves may have a due knowledge where ſuch ſlaves are confined, after their being apprehended and ſent to any workhouſe or gaol in this iſland, in order that ſuch owners and proprietors may apply for ſuch ſlaves; be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, all and every the keepers of the workhouſes, or gaol-keepers, in any of the pariſhes of this iſland, ſhall, and they are hereby obliged, once in every week, to advertiſe in the Gazette of Saint Jago de la Vega, the Royal Gazette of Kingſton, and the Cornwall Chronicle, the heighth, names, marks, and ſex, and alſo the country, where the ſame can be aſcertained, of each and every runaway ſlave then in their cuſtody, together with the time of their being ſent into cuſtody, and the name or names of the owner or owners thereof, if known, and that upon oath, under the penalty of ten pounds for every ſlave ſo neglected by him to be advertiſed; and, for the expence of ſuch advertiſement, they, the ſaid workhouſe-keepers or gaol-keepers,

keepers, ſhall and may, and they are hereby authorized to, charge the owner or proprietor of ſuch runaway ſlaves ſo advertiſed, at and after the rate of one ſhilling and three-pence per month for each paper, and no more; and that it ſhall and may be lawful for the keeper of the workhouſe or gaol-keeper, to detain and keep in his or their cuſtody ſuch runaway ſlave or ſlaves ſo brought unto him or them, until the owner or owners thereof, or ſome perſon on their behalf, properly authorized, ſhall pay unto him or them what he or they ſo paid to the perſon or perſons who apprehended and brought ſuch ſlave or ſlaves into cuſtody, with two ſhillings and ſix-pence in the pound for laying out his or their money, the coſt of advertiſing, after the rate above mentioned, and ſix-pence for every 24 hours ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall have been in cuſtody, for maintenance, and two-pence per day for medical care and extraordinary nouriſhment where neceſſary, and alſo the charges of advertiſing above directed, and no other fees whatever; and that the gaoler, workhouſe-keeper, or ſuperviſor, and no other perſon, ſhall atteſt, upon oath, that the charges in the account for mile-money, and the reward for apprehending ſuch ſlave, were actually paid to the perſon who brought ſuch runaway, and that the whole of the charges in the ſaid account are ſtrictly conformable to this law.

detain them until paid their fees.

atteſt the charges for mile-money, &c.

XL. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That the keeper of every workhouſe or gaol in this iſland ſhall, under the penalty of ten pounds for every neglect, provide and give to every ſlave confined in ſuch workhouſe or gaol, a ſufficient quantity of good and wholeſome proviſions daily; that is to ſay, not leſs than one quart of

allow them proviſions,

BOOK IV.

of unground Guinea or Indian corn, or three pints of the flour or meal of either, or three pints of wheat flour, or eight full-grown plantains, or eight pounds of cocoas or yams, and alſo one herring or ſhad, or other ſalted proviſions equal thereto.

and not hire them out.

XLI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no gaol-keeper in this iſland, or any perſon acting under him as clerk or deputy, ſhall, on any pretence whatſoever, work or employ any ſlave or ſlaves ſent to his cuſtody, upon any plantation, pen, or ſettlement, belonging to, or in the poſſeſſion of, any ſuch gaol-keeper, nor hire or lend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves out to work for any other perſon or perſons, during ſuch time ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be in his cuſtody, but that all ſuch ſlaves ſhall be and remain in the common gaol of the county or pariſh, in order to be inſpected by any perſon or perſons deſiring the ſame; and in caſe any gaol-keeper ſhall offend herein, he ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum of fifty pounds.

Certain runaways, how liable to be puniſhed.

XLII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all ſlaves who ſhall have been in this iſland for the ſpace of two years, and ſhall run away, and continue abſent for a term not exceeding ſix months, ſhall be liable to be tried by two juſtices; and, upon conviction thereof, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid juſtices ſhall think proper to inflict.

Runaways abſent ſix months, how puniſhable.

XLIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any ſlave ſhall run away from his owner or lawful poſſeſſor, and be abſent for more than ſix months, ſuch ſlave, being

ing duly convicted thereof, ſhall be ſentenced to be confined to hard labour for ſuch time as the court ſhall determine, or be tranſported for life, according to the magnitude of the offence.

Slaves guilty of Obeah, how puniſhable.

XLIV. And, in order to prevent the many miſchiefs that may hereafter ariſe from the wicked art of negroes going under the appellation of Obeah men and women, pretending to have communication with the devil and other evil ſpirits, whereby the weak and ſuperſtitious are deluded into a belief of their having full power to exempt them, whilſt under their protection, from any evils that might otherwiſe happen; be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, any ſlave who ſhall pretend to any ſupernatural power, in order to promote the purpoſes of rebellion, ſhall, upon conviction thereof, ſuffer death, tranſportation, or ſuch other puniſhment as the court ſhall think proper to direct; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary in anywiſe notwithſtanding.

Slaves attempting to poiſon, to ſuffer death.

XLV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any negro or other ſlave ſhall mix or prepare, with an intent to give, or cauſe to be given, any poiſon or poiſonous drug, or ſhall actually give, or cauſe to be given, any ſuch poiſon or poiſonous drug, in the practice of Obeah or otherwiſe, although death may not enſue upon the taking thereof, the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves, together with their acceſſaries, as well before as after the fact (being ſlaves), being duly convicted thereof, ſhall ſuffer death, or tranſportation for life, as the court ſhall determine; any thing in this, or any other act, to the contrary notwithſtanding.

XLVI. And

BOOK IV.

Slaves puniſhable if found in poſſeſſion of large quantities of freſh meat.

XLVI. And whereas great numbers of horned cattle, ſheep, goats, horſes, mares, mules, and aſſes, are frequently ſtolen and killed by negro and other ſlaves, in ſo ſecret and private a manner that it is with the greateſt difficulty they can be found out and diſcovered, in ſuch manner as to convict them of ſuch offence, although large quantity of beef, mutton, and the fleſh of other valuable animals, are found upon him, her, or them; in order, therefore, to prevent ſuch evils in future, and to puniſh the perpetrators of ſuch acts agreeably to their crimes, be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any negro or other ſlave ſhall fraudulently have in his, her, or their cuſtody or poſſeſſion, unknown to his or her maſter, owner, overſeer, or other perſon, who ſhall have the overlooking or employing of ſuch ſlave, any freſh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the fleſh of horſe, mare, mule, or aſs, in any quantity exceeding five and not exceeding twenty pounds weight, ſuch negro or other ſlave, upon due conviction thereof before any two magiſtrates, ſhall be whipped in ſuch manner as ſuch magiſtrate ſhall direct, not exceeding thirty-nine laſhes; and if there ſhall be found in his, her, or their cuſtody or poſſeſſion, a larger or greater quantity than twenty pounds weight of freſh beef, veal, mutton, or goat, or the fleſh of horſe, mare, mule, or aſs, and ſuch ſlave ſhall not give a ſatisfactory account how he or ſhe became poſſeſſed of ſuch meat, that then ſuch negro or other ſlave, upon conviction thereof, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid two juſtices ſhall think proper to direct, not extending to life, or impriſonment for life.

XLVII. And

XLVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any negro or other ſlave ſhall, after the paſſing of this act, ſteal any ſuch horned cattle, ſheep, goat, horſe, mare, mule, or aſs, or ſhall kill any ſuch horned cattle, ſheep, goat, horſe, mare, mule, or aſs, with intent to ſteal the whole carcaſs of any ſuch horned cattle, ſheep, goat, horſe, mare, mule, or aſs, or any part of the fleſh thereof, ſuch negro or other ſlave ſhall, on conviction thereof, ſuffer death, or ſuch other puniſhment as the court ſhall think proper to inflict. Slaves ſtealing horned cattle how puniſhed.

XLVIII. And whereas it is neceſſary to declare how, and in what manner, ſlaves ſhall be tried for the ſeveral crimes which they may hereafter commit, be it enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, upon complaint made to any juſtice of the peace of any felony, burglary, robbery, burning of houſes, cane-pieces, rebellious conſpiracies, compaſſing or imagining the death of any white perſon or perſons, or any other offence whatſoever committed by any ſlave or ſlaves, that ſhall ſubject ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to ſuffer death or tranſportation, ſuch juſtice ſhall iſſue out his warrant for apprehending ſuch offender or offenders, and for all perſons to be brought before him, or any other juſtice of the peace, that can give evidence; and the evidence of ſlaves againſt one another, in this and all other caſes, ſhall be received; and if, upon examination, it appears probable that the ſlave or ſlaves apprehended is or are guilty, the juſtice before whom ſuch examination ſhall be had and taken, ſhall commit him, her, or them, to priſon, and bind over the witneſſes to appear at a certain day, not leſs than ten days from the day Slaves guilty of crimes how tried.

on

BOOK IV. on which the complaint ſhall be made, and at the place where the quarter-ſeſſions are uſually held, and, where there are no quarter-ſeſſions held, at the place where the parochial buſineſs is uſually tranſacted, and ſhall certify to two other juſtices of the peace the cauſe of ſuch commitment, and require them, by virtue of this act, to aſſociate themſelves to him, which ſaid juſtices are hereby ſeverally required to do, under the penalty of twenty pounds for every neglect or refuſal; and the ſaid juſtices, ſo aſſociated, ſhall iſſue out their warrant to ſummon twelve perſons, ſuch as are uſually warned and impanelled to ſerve on juries (the maſter, owner, or proprietor of the ſlave or ſlaves ſo complained of, or the attorney, guardian, truſtee, overſeer, or book-keeper of ſuch maſter, owner, or proprietor, or the perſon proſecuting, his or her attorney, guardian, truſtee, overſeer, or book-keeper, always excepted), perſonally to be and appear before the ſaid juſtices, at the day and place aforeſaid, to be expreſſed in ſuch warrant, and between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, when and where the ſaid perſons ſo warned are hereby ſeverally required to attend, under the penalty of five pounds; and when and where the ſaid juſtices ſhall cauſe the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves, ſo complained of, to be brought before them, and thereupon nine of the ſaid perſons ſo ſummoned as aforeſaid, ſhall compoſe a jury to try the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves, and ſhall by the ſaid juſtices *(the charge or accuſation being firſt read)* be ſworn to try the matter before them, and to give a true verdict according to evidence; and ſuch charge or accuſation ſhall be deemed valid, if ſufficient in ſubſtance; and if the ſaid jurors ſhall, upon hearing the evidence, unanimouſly find the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves guilty

guilty of the offence wherewith he, ſhe, or they ſtand charged, the ſaid juſtices ſhall give ſentence of death, without benefit of clergy, *or tranſportation*, or confinement to hard labour *for any limited time not exceeding two years* *, according to the nature of the offence, and ſhall cauſe ſuch ſentence to be carried into execution, and at ſuch time and place as they ſhall think proper, women with-child only excepted, whoſe execution ſhall be reſpited until a reaſonable time after delivery: Provided always nevertheleſs, That at every court of quarter-ſeſſions held in each and every pariſh or precinct within this iſland, the juſtices there aſſembled ſhall and may, after the uſual buſineſs of the ſaid court ſhall be done, form themſelves into a court, for the purpoſe of enquiring into, hearing, and determining all manner of offences for which any ſlave or ſlaves are liable to be puniſhed with death, or tranſportation, or confinement to hard labour, *as aforeſaid*, and ſhall open the ſaid court by proclamation, declaring the ſame to be a ſlave-court for ſuch purpoſe, and ſhall thereupon, on the like charge in writing, and in like manner, in all other reſpects, as the three juſtices aſſociated and met as herein before-mentioned are, by this act, directed to proceed in the trial of ſlaves for ſuch offences, proceed to try, and deliver the gaol or workhouſe within the ſaid pariſh or precinct of, all and every ſlave and ſlaves who ſhall or may then be in the cuſtody of the marſhal or keeper of the workhouſe, within each and every pariſh or precinct as aforeſaid, and ſhall forthwith cauſe a jury, conſiſting of nine jurors, to be called and taken from the pannel returned to the ſaid court of

APPENDIX.

* In the former act *for life*.

quarter-

BOOK IV.

quarter-ſeſſions, and ſhall cauſe them to be ſeverally ſworn, as they ſhall appear, to try all and every ſuch ſlave and ſlaves as ſhall be brought before them, charged with any ſuch offences as aforeſaid, and a true verdict give according to evidence, as in other caſes.

Jurors to ſerve under penalty.

XLIX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all and every the jurors who ſhall be returned to ſerve as jurors at the quarter-ſeſſions, to be holden as aforeſaid, are hereby required, under the penalty of five pounds, to be and appear at the ſaid ſlave-court, ſo to be formed and holden as aforeſaid, and to ſerve as jurors thereon as they ſhall reſpectively be called: Provided alſo, That nothing in this act contained ſhall hinder or prevent the ſaid juſtices, upon any ſuch trial, where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be condemned to die, from reſpiting the execution of ſuch ſentence for any term not exceeding thirty days, or until the pleaſure of the commander in chief ſhall be known, in caſe proper cauſe ſhall appear to them for ſo doing; and that if the jury upon any ſuch trial ſhall apply to the ſaid juſtices to ſuſpend the execution of any ſentence until the pleaſure of the commander in chief is made known, the ſaid juſtices ſhall be obliged to ſuſpend the ſame for thirty days, except in caſes of trial of any ſlave or ſlaves convicted of actual rebellion; in all which caſes the ſaid juſtices ſhall, if they think it expedient, order the ſentence paſſed on ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to be carried into immediate execution.

Three juſtices to form a court.

L. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That not leſs than three juſtices ſhall conſtitute a court for the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves, for any crime or offence that ſhall ſubject ſuch

ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to ſuffer death, tranſportation, or confinement to hard labour *as aforeſaid*; and that, upon all ſuch trials, no peremptory challenges of any of the ſaid jurors, or any exception to the form of the indictment, ſhall be allowed. APPENDIX.

How executions are performed.

LI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where the puniſhment of death is inflicted, the execution ſhall be performed in a public part of the pariſh, and with due ſolemnity; and care ſhall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marſhal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of five pounds; and the mode of ſuch execution ſhall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body ſhall be afterwards diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the court ſhall direct: And provided alſo, That where ſeveral ſlaves ſhall be capitally convicted for the ſame offence, one only ſhall ſuffer death, except in caſes of murder or rebellion.

Slaves giving falſe evidence how puniſhed.

LII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, in caſe any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall wilfully, and with evil intent, give falſe evidence in any trial had under this act, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, being thereof convicted, ſhall ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as the perſon or perſons on whoſe trial ſuch falſe evidence was given would, if convicted, have been liable to ſuffer.

How fees of ſlaves diſcharged by proclamation are paid.

LIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be diſcharged by proclamation, the deputy marſhal or workhouſe-keeper ſhall be entitled to receive all ſuch fees as ſhall be due to him or them for ſuch

BOOK IV. ſlave or ſlaves, at the time of ſuch diſcharge, from the public, upon application and due proof made, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to the aſſembly, or any committee thereof, and that ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, during the time they were in the cuſtody of ſuch deputy marſhal or workhouſe-keeper, was and were found and provided with proper and ſufficient proviſions equal to what is allowed by this law.

Clerk of the peace to record ſlave trials.

LIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That a record ſhall be entered up of all proceedings on the trials of ſlaves, for any crime that ſhall ſubject any ſlave or ſlaves to ſuffer death, tranſportation, or confinement to hard labour for the term of two years, in a book kept for that purpoſe by the clerk of the peace, or his lawful deputy, of the precinct; who is hereby obliged to attend all ſuch trials, and to record the proceedings within thirty days after ſuch trial, under the penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and he ſhall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of ſuch pariſh the ſum of two pounds fifteen ſhillings, and no more, for attending each trial, entering up the record, and any other buſineſs incidental thereto: And further, that the deputy marſhal for the ſaid pariſh, or ſome proper perſon acting under him, ſhall alſo be obliged to attend ſuch trial, under the ſame penalty of twenty pounds for each neglect; and that he ſhall be entitled to receive from the churchwardens of ſuch pariſh forty ſhillings, for attending at the trial and execution of ſuch offender as ſhall be condemned to die, and no more.

Five days notice of

LV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all trials of any ſlave or ſlaves

ſlaves under this act, ſufficient notice of ſuch trial ſhall be firſt given to the owner, proprietor, or poſſeſſor, of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, his, her, or their lawful attorney or attornies, or other repreſentative or repreſentatives; any law, cuſtom or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

trial to be given.

LVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be put upon his, her, or their trial, and ſhall receive ſentence of death or tranſportation, the court, at the time of trying ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall alſo enquire what ſum or ſums of money ſuch owner, proprietor, or employer of the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves ought to receive for ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, and certify the ſame, ſo that ſuch ſum or ſums of money do not exceed the ſum of ſixty pounds for each ſlave ſentenced as aforeſaid.

Slaves executed, or tranſported, to be valued.

LVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be brought to trial, and ſhall be valued according to the direction of this act, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be paid for by the receiver-general of this iſland, out of any monies in his hands unappropriated; and the money ariſing from the actual ſale of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves as ſhall be ſo tranſported by the deputy-marſhal ſhall be accounted for, on oath, to the churchwardens of the pariſh where the offence ſhall be tried, to be by them paid over to the receiver-general, for the uſe of the public.

Such valuation to be paid by receiver-general.

LVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any negro or other ſlave, who ſhall be tranſported from this iſland, under

Slaves returning from tranſportation

BOOK IV.

the direction of this act, ſhall wilfully return from tranſportation, ſuch negro or other ſlave ſhall, upon conviction, ſuffer death without benefit of clergy.

ſuffer death.

Puniſhment for inferior crimes.

LIX. And whereas there are many inferior crimes and miſdemeanours committed by ſlaves, which ought to be puniſhed in a ſummary manner, by order of the magiſtrates; Be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, it ſhall and may be lawful for any two juſtices of the peace to hear and determine, in a ſummary manner, all ſuch crimes and miſdemeanours, giving ſufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, or his or her attorney or attornies, or the perſon having the care of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct ſuch puniſhment to be inflicted on them as ſuch juſtices, in their judgment, ſhall think fit, not exceeding fifty laſhes or ſix months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial ſhall not exceed ten ſhillings to the conſtable, and ſhall be paid by the maſter, owner, or employer of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves; and in caſe ſuch maſter, owner, or employer of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall refuſe or neglect to pay ſuch expences, it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid juſtices, or either of them, to iſſue his or their warrant, under his or their hand and ſeal, directed to any conſtable, for levying the ſame on the goods and chattels of ſuch maſter, owner, or employer, and to ſell the ſame at public outcry, for the purpoſe of paying ſuch expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing ſuch warrant and ſale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner thereof.

LX. And

APPENDIX.

LX. And whereas great advantages have ariſen to the community from the eſtabliſhment of workhouſes in the reſpective pariſhes in this iſland, for the reception of runaway and other ſlaves; And whereas there now are many ſuch ſlaves in the poſſeſſion of the provoſt-marſhal, or his lawful deputies, who might be employed in the workhouſes in this iſland to great advantage; be it therefore Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, it ſhall and may be lawful for the governors and guardians of the reſpective workhouſes in this iſland, if to them it ſhall ſeem meet, to demand and receive from the provoſt-marſhal, or his lawful deputies, all or any of the runaway negroes or other ſlaves in his or their poſſeſſion, or that may hereafter come into his or their cuſtody or poſſeſſion, upon the ſaid governors and guardians paying unto the provoſt-marſhal, or his lawful deputies, the full amount of the fees and other contingent charges attending the ſaid runaway ſlaves during the time of their being committed to gaol, agreeably to this or any former act; and the provoſt-marſhal and his lawful deputies ſhall comply with ſuch requiſitions, under the penalty of fifty pounds.

Provoſt-marſhal to deliver runaways to workhouſe-keeper.

LXI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no runaway ſlave ſhall, on any account, be committed to gaol by any magiſtrate of a pariſh where there is any workhouſe eſtabliſhed, but to ſuch workhouſe only.

Runaways to be committed to workhouſe.

LXII. And whereas the permitting and ſuffering negro and other ſlaves to keep horſes, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great miſchiefs to the iſland in general; in order, therefore,

Horſes, &c. belonging to ſlaves, to be taken up and ſold.

BOOK IV. therefore, to remedy the ſame, Be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, the maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, in poſſeſſion of every plantation or pen in this iſland, having on any ſuch plantation or pen any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any ſlave or ſlaves, knowing the ſame to be ſuch, ſhall cauſe them to be taken up, and ſhall produce them at the moſt public place in the pariſh where taken up, at ſuch time as the juſtices and veſtry ſhall, by advertiſement in the public newſpapers, appoint for that purpoſe, and that ſuch horſes, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there ſold and diſpoſed of at public outcry; and if any maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon as aforeſaid, ſhall neglect or refuſe ſo doing, each and every of them ſhall, for every neglect or refuſal, reſpectively forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in a ſummary manner before any two juſtices of the peace for the pariſh or precinct where ſuch neglect or refuſal ſhall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witneſs or witneſſes; which penalty ſhall be to the uſe of the perſon informing.

Penalty for permitting ſlaves to keep horſes.

LXIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, no maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, in poſſeſſion of any plantation, pen, or ſettlement, ſhall knowingly permit or ſuffer any ſlave or ſlaves to keep on ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in caſe of ſo doing, ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum

ſum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in manner aforeſaid. APPENDIX.

LXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, at the reſpective times of their giving in an account of their ſlaves and ſtock to the juſtices and veſtry, ſhall alſo make oath, that none of the ſaid horſes, mares, mules, or geldings, ſo given in, do belong to any negro or other ſlave; and that ſuch perſon, ſo giving in, or his, her, or their employer or employers, hath not, nor have, in his, her, or their poſſeſſion, to his, her, or their knowledge or belief, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, belonging to, or reputed to belong to, any ſlave or ſlaves; and in caſe any perſon or perſons ſhall neglect or refuſe ſo to do, every perſon ſo neglecting or refuſing ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds, to be recovered in the ſame ſummary manner, and to be diſpoſed of as herein before-mentioned. Oath to be made that ſlaves have no property.

LXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, no negro or other ſlave in this iſland ſhall purchaſe or buy any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, under the penalty of forfeiting ſuch horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, and to be diſpoſed of as herein before-mentioned: And if any perſon whatſoever ſhall ſell or give any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, to any negro or other ſlave, or to any perſon in truſt for ſuch negro or other ſlave, every ſuch perſon ſhall, for every ſuch horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, ſo ſold or given, forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds; and every perſon who ſhall purchaſe, or be concerned in the purchaſe of, Slaves not to purchaſe horſes, &c.

BOOK IV.

of, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, in truſt for any negro or other ſlave, ſhall forfeit the ſum of thirty pounds; which ſaid penalties ſhall be recovered in the ſame ſummary manner and diſpoſed of as herein before-mentioned; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

Penalty for concealing ſlaves againſt whom warrants are iſſued.

LXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in future, whenever a warrant ſhall be granted by one or more of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace againſt any ſlave, if the ſaid ſlave cannot be immediately taken on the ſaid warrant, the owner, poſſeſſor, attorney, guardian, or overſeer of ſuch ſlave ſhall be ſerved with a copy of the ſaid warrant; and if he, ſhe, or they, do not carry the ſaid ſlave before a magiſtrate, to be dealt with according to law on the ſaid warrant; and if it ſhall be afterwards proved that the owner, poſſeſſor, attorney, guardian, or overſeer, of ſuch ſlave wilfully detained or concealed ſaid ſlave, he, ſhe, or they, ſhall forfeit the ſum of one hundred pounds.

LXVII. And whereas ſeveral ſlaves have lately found means to deſert from their owners, and depart from this iſland, to the great damage of ſuch owners, in evil example to other ſlaves, who may thereby be induced to attempt or conſpire to do the ſame; And whereas there is reaſon to ſuſpect that ſuch ſlaves have been aided and aſſiſted in ſuch eſcape and departure by other perſons, and there is not any adequate puniſhment provided by law for ſuch deſertion and departure, or attempting or conſpiring to deſert and depart this iſland, or for perſons aiding, aſſiſting, or abetting, ſuch deſerters; For remedy whereof, Be it further

ther Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, if any ſlave ſhall run away from his, her, or their owner or owners, employer or employers, and go off, or conſpire or attempt to go off, this iſland in any ſhip, boat, canoe, or other veſſel or craft whatſoever, or be aiding, abetting, or aſſiſting, to any other ſlave or ſlaves in ſuch going off this iſland, he, ſhe, or they, ſo running and going off, or conſpiring or attempting to go off, or ſo aiding, aſſiſting, or abetting, in ſuch going off, being thereof convicted, ſhall ſuffer death, or ſuch puniſhment as the ſaid court ſhall think proper to direct.

Slaves attempting to depart this iſland, how puniſhable.

LXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any Indian, free negro, or mulatto, ſhall, from and after the paſſing of this act, knowingly be aiding, aſſiſting, or abetting, any ſlave or ſlaves in going off this iſland, and ſhall be convicted thereof, either in the ſupreme court or in any of the aſſize courts of this iſland, ſuch Indian, free negro, or mulatto, ſhall be forthwith tranſported off this iſland by the provoſt-marſhal-general, or his lawful deputy, into whoſe cuſtody ſuch perſon or perſons ſhall be committed; and if ſuch perſon or perſons, ſo convicted, ſentenced, and tranſported, ſhall afterwards be found at large in this iſland, he, ſhe, or they, being ſo thereof convicted before the ſupreme court of judicature, or courts of aſſize in this iſland, ſhall ſuffer death without benefit of clergy.

Penalty for aſſiſting ſlaves to go off the iſland.

LXIX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any white perſon or perſons ſhall knowingly be aiding, aſſiſting, or abetting,

Penalty on whites for aiding ſlaves to

BOOK IV.

abetting, any ſlave or ſlaves, in going off this iſland, he, ſhe, or they, being convicted thereof by bill, plaint, or information, in the ſupreme court of judicature, or courts of aſſize, ſhall forfeit the ſum of one hundred pounds for each ſlave; one moiety whereof ſhall be to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, for and towards the ſupport of the government of this iſland, and the contingent charges thereof, and the other moiety to the party or parties at whoſe ſuit or complaint ſuch perſon was convicted, and ſhall alſo ſuffer impriſonment, at the diſcretion of the ſaid court, for any ſpace of time not exceeding twelve months, without bail or mainprize.

go off the iſland.

Perſons ſo offending to be proceeded againſt.

LXX. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful to proceed againſt the perſon or perſons ſo aiding, aſſiſting, or abetting, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves in going off this iſland, whether the principal or principals be convicted or not; any thing in this, or any other act, law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Overſeers not to leave eſtates on holidays.

LXXI. And whereas the overſeers of eſtates in this iſland make a frequent practice of leaving the ſeveral eſtates under their care and management, on the reſpective ſeaſons allowed for negro holidays, whereby many dangerous meetings and pernicious practices are carried on; in order, therefore, to prevent the like for the future, Be it Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any overſeer in this iſland ſhall abſent himſelf from the eſtate under his care and management, on any of the particular holidays herein before-mentioned to be allowed to ſlaves, without leave of his

his employer, every ſuch overſeer ſo offending, ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum of five pounds, to be recovered by information, upon oath, before any juſtice of the peace, in a ſummary way, in the pariſh where ſuch offence ſhall happen; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding.

Slaves not to be mutilated.

LXXII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall not be lawful for any juſtice of the peace, ſitting on the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves, or otherwiſe, to ſentence or order any ſlave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatſoever.

Puniſhment on ſuch as eſcape from the workhouſe.

LXXIII. And be it further Enacted, That if any negro or other ſlave, who may be ſentenced to be confined in the workhouſe for the term of two years, or a leſs time, ſhall eſcape from ſuch confinement before the expiration of his ſentence, ſuch negro or other ſlave, being retaken, ſhall, on proof of his or her identity, before two juſtices of the peace, be adjudged by them to be ſent back to confinement, and to receive a whipping, not exceeding fifty laſhes.

Penalty for ſuffering ſlaves to eſcape.

LXXIV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if the provoſt-marſhal, or any of his lawful deputies, or any lawful conſtable, or workhouſe-keeper, ſhall willingly or negligently ſuffer any ſlave or ſlaves to eſcape, who ſhall be committed to his or their cuſtody for any offence under this act, ſo that ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall not be retaken within two years, ſuch marſhal, conſtable, or workhouſe-keeper, who ſhall ſuffer ſuch eſcape, ſhall forfeit the ſum of

BOOK IV. of twenty pounds, without injury to the right of the owner to ſue for the value of the ſame.

Slaves not to hunt with lances, &c.

LXXV. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That no negro or other ſlave ſhall be allowed to hunt any cattle, horſes, mares, mules, or aſſes, in any part of this iſland, with lances, guns, cutlaſſes, or other inſtruments of death, unleſs in the company of his or their maſter, overſeer, or ſome other white perſon by him or them deputed, or by permiſſion in writing; and if any negro or other ſlave ſhall offend, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, he or they, being thereof convicted before two juſtices, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as they ſhall think proper to inflict.

Juſtices to do their duty in martial law.

LXXVI. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful for the juſtices aforeſaid, and they are hereby required, to do their ſeveral and reſpective duties under this act when martial law ſhall happen to be in force, as they might or ought to have done if martial law were not ſubſiſting; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary thereof notwithſtanding.

Jurors, &c. protected.

LXXVII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all jurors ſerving at ſlave courts, and every perſon and perſons whoſe preſence may be requiſite, at the examination of any ſlave or ſlaves, or upon the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves, and who ſhall be required to attend by warrant under the hand and ſeal of any juſtice of the peace, and all and every ſlave and ſlaves who ſhall be brought as witneſſes, ſhall be protected in their perſons from all meſne or judicial proceſs whatſoever,

whatſoever, in their going to, attending at, and returning from ſuch examinations or trial, and that ſuch ſlaves ſhall not be ſubject to be levied on. APPENDIX.

LXXVIII. And be it further Enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That all penalties in this act mentioned, and not already declared how they ſhall be recovered and applied, ſhall, if not exceeding twenty pounds, be recovered in a ſummary manner before any two of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, by diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods and chattels; and, if exceeding twenty pounds, to be recovered in the ſupreme court of judicature of this iſland, or in either of the courts of aſſize, by action of debt, bill, plaint, or information, wherein no eſſoin, protection, wager of law, or non vult ulterius proſequi, ſhall be entered; one moiety of which penalties ſhall be to the pariſh where the offence is committed, and the other moiety to the informer, or him, her, or them who ſhall ſue for the ſame. How penalties ſhall be recovered and diſpoſed of.

NUMBER

NUMBER II.

AN ACCOUNT of the NUMBER of SHIPS, with their TONNAGE, which cleared from *Great Britain* to *Africa*, in each Year, from 1700, together with the TOTAL EXPORTS to *Africa* in each Year, during the ſame Period; diſtinguiſhing the VALUE of the *Britiſh*, *India*, and *Foreign Goods*; to which are added, the QUANTITY and VALUE of each ARTICLE, from the Year 1782.

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	Britiſh Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1701	104	—	83,280	14	6	—			50,673	7	5	133,954	1	11
1702	72	—	54,733	11	5	—			41,318	14	4	96,052	5	9
1703	56	—	64,155	19	5	—			40,023	14	2	104,179	13	7
1704	50	—	47,646	14	3	—			39,019	3	7	86,665	17	10
1705	45	—	31,883	7	2	—			33,221	8	11	65,104	16	1
1706	42	—	37,003	16	—	—			19,682	11	4	56,616	7	4
1707	31	—	58,531	8	6	—			33,596	7	10	92,127	16	4
1708	—	—	40,507	18	7	—			15,485	18	—	55,993	16	7
1709	38	4,430	33,539	9	1	—			25,864	3	4	59,403	12	5
1710	—	—	45,595	19	7	—			23,391	9	10	68,987	9	5
1711	—	—	37,518	7	11	—			26,758	7	3	64,276	15	2
1712	—	—	24,791	6	6	—			12,716	11	8	37,507	18	2
1713	—	—	87,934	8	3	—			23,871	—	1	111,805	8	4
1714	—	—	34,848	15	2	—			28,568	12	—	63,417	7	2
1715	24	2,866	24,549	1	1	—			27,363	5	1	51,912	6	2

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture.			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1716	32	3,532	54,337	—	10	—			43,548	11	8	97,885	12	6
1717	43	4,845	59,186	4	—	—			53,263	8	2	112,449	12	2
1718	60	6,958	46,231	5	9	—			47,028	10	9	93,313	16	6
1719	39	3,900	29,382	9	2	—			37,059	5	9	66,441	14	11
1720	65	5,764	60,928	5	7	—			69,422	9	4	130,350	14	11
1721	54	5,140	48,908	3	1	—			77,148	—	4	126,056	3	5
1722	59	6,135	70,217	7	3	—			116,338	17	2	186,556	4	5
1723	55	4,200	62,242	16	—	—			76,264	17	3	138,507	13	3
1724	74	7,450	95,266	—	11	—			121,102	1	8	216,368	2	7
1725	—	—	121,273	3	10	—			162,751	12	—	284,024	15	10
1726	—	—	65,180	—	6	—			153,524	11	9	218,704	12	3
1727	—	—	64,225	18	3	—			74,381	16	3	138,607	14	6
1728	—	—	75,400	13	1	—			112,003	2	6	187,403	15	7
1729	—	—	96,895	4	11	—			156,484	17	6	253,380	2	5
1730	111	10,416	109,688	7	4	—			151,001	15	3	260,690	2	7
1731	—	—	101,076	3	2	—			105,027	1	2	206,103	4	4
1732	—	—	87,746	2	4	—			116,254	—	1	204,000	2	5
1733	—	—	50,005	17	4	—			78,781	17	5	128,787	14	9
1734	—	—	52,144	7	11	—			76,539	17	4	128,684	5	3
1735	—	—	30,721	—	1	—			99,698	4	9	130,419	4	10
1736	—	—	87,619	14	3	—			105,534	5	7	193,153	19	10
1737	109	10,560	107,872	4	3	—			126,227	19	4	234,100	3	7
1738	—	—	120,884	5	9	—			156,363	19	5	277,248	5	2
1739	—	—	87,630	6	8	—			132,243	8	4	219,873	15	—

Years.	Ships	Tons.	British Manufacture			India Goods.			Foreign Merchandize.			Total.		
			£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1740	—	—	40,563	19	2	—			69,979	15	10	110,543	15	—
1741	—	—	65,708	6	10	—			66,983	2	1	132,691	8	11
1742	—	—	52,608	3	2	—			77,776	19	1	130,385	2	3
1743	—	—	98,497	6	9	—			120,551	—	4	219,048	7	1
1744	53	4,326	37,303	18	1	—			57,789	5	—	95,093	3	1
1745	—	—	26,665	4	9	—			44,734	6	3	71,399	11	—
1746	—	—	50,289	7	3	—			67,185	—	5	117,474	7	8
1747	—	—	78,846	17	9	—			107,553	4	—	186,400	1	9
1748	—	—	107,136	13	4	—			126,534	10	3	233,671	3	7
1749	—	—	109,819	12	8	—			88,619	11	8	198,439	4	4
1750	—	—	77,561	13	6	—			83,230	—	6	160,791	14	—
1751	94	9,843	100,378	17	7	—			114,261	6	6	214,640	4	1
1752	106	11,327	147,012	10	2	—			89,054	3	2	236,026	13	4
1753	126	12,053	207,324	17	10	—			68,035	11	—	275,360	8	10
1754	124	10,352	152,922	5	11	—			82,135	7	7	235,057	13	6
1755	86	7,617	111,688	10	4	—			61,981	9	8	173,670	—	—
1756	100	8,932	127,672	10	9	—			60,910	8	9	188,582	19	6
1757	74	7,856	111,725	19	4	—			42,772	3	4	154,498	2	8
1758	103	12,217	114,193	11	11	—			53,706	4	7	167,899	16	6
1759	120	13,212	127,315	3	—	—			101,145	7	—	228,460	10	—
1760	138	15,647	243,542	18	9	—			102,005	1	4	345,548	—	1
1761	138	15,689	246,720	1	5	—			78,587	—	6	325,307	1	11
1762	123	14,469	209,677	9	4	—			63,450	9	3	273,127	18	7
1763	163	18,939	346,242	8	3	—			117,576	1	1	463,818	9	4
1764	163	17,802	324,820	18	3	—			140,057	15	11	464,878	14	2
1765	163	18,754	333,647	9	6	—			135,387	4	10	469,034	14	4

Years.	Ships.	Tons.	British Manufacture. £.	s.	d.	India Goods. £.	s.	d.	Foreign Merchandize. £.	s.	d.	Total. £.	s.	d.
1766	134	15,665	364,180	6	9	—			132,609	5	3	496,789	12	—
1767	158	16,799	398,066	3	1	—			159,996	2	7	558,062	5	8
1768	134	13,471	416,297	9	11	—			196,094	19	9	612,392	9	8
1769	146	14,743	387,177	15	2	—			218,002	10	9	605,180	5	11
1770	156	16,211	347,252	14	8	—			223,750	12	1	571,003	6	9
1771	192	20,296	449,487	8	—	168,340	11	9	94,710	7	7	712,538	7	4
1772	175	19,021	564,013	14	—	187,727	15	10	114,653	1	5	866,394	11	3
1773	151	15,696	419,926	9	8	140,403	8	1	127,780	13	2	688,110	10	11
1774	167	17,218	528,333	5	—	183,095	17	8	135,096	9	9	846,525	12	5
1775	152	16,787	474,053	19	3	188,731	3	7	123,382	19	10	786,168	2	8
1776	101	12,083	300,623	16	4	96,329	13	1	73,825	11	8	470,779	1	1
1777	58	7,196	139,975	19	—	56,647	14	3	42,594	9	9	239,218	3	—
1778	41	5,316	95,690	19	8	34,154	8	8	24,240	13	6	154,086	1	10
1779	28	3,475	99,183	13	11	46,012	12	3	14,021	13	5	159,217	19	7
1780	53	7,355	121,288	1	5	56,627	17	—	17,991	15	7	195,907	14	—
1781	77	9,730	208,055	16	9	73,591	9	8	31,175	1	5	312,822	7	10
1782	69	9,311	253,250	11	8	71,254	18	—	27,229	8	9	351,734	18	5
1783	130	20,077	573,245	15	2	153,619	—	3	60,698	12	7	787,563	8	—
1784	99	14,383	360,012	12	5	122,624	7	2	41,348	16	7	523,985	16	2
1785	116	16,064	412,656	15	—	116,433	7	6	58,106	7	8	587,196	10	2
1786	146	21,483	583,052	12	7	176,076	8	5	129,609	1	10	888,738	2	10
1787	137	22,263	401,593	15	8	186,258	16	9	80,403	1	11	668,255	14	4

END OF THE APPENDIX TO BOOK IV.

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies.

BOOK V.

AGRICULTURE.

CHAP. I.

Sugar Cane.—Known to the ancients.—Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th century, and from thence to the Weſt Indies. Evidence to prove that Columbus himſelf carried it from the Canary Iſlands to Hiſpaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reaſoning to demonſtrate that it was found growing ſpontaneouſly in the Weſt Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and deſcription.—Soils beſt adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties, deſcribed.—Uſe and advantage of the plough.—Uſual method of holing and planting.—Seaſon proper for planting.—Blaſt.—Manures.—Improvements ſuggeſted.

IN treating of the agriculture of the Weſt In- BOOK
dian Iſlands, the firſt object that naturally excites V.
attention is the cane which produces their great

BOOK V.

ſtaple commodity, ſugar;—a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the moſt valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *Saccharum*. This word was corrupted, in monkiſh Latin, into *Zucharum*, and afterwards into *Zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *Açucar*, from whence *Sugar*. The plant is a native of the eaſt, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. Lucan, enumerating the eaſtern auxiliaries of Pompey, deſcribes a people who uſed the cane-juice as a common drink,

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine ſucos.

At what time the Indians diſcovered the art of granulating the juice by evaporation, does not appear; but ſugar probably found its way into Europe by the Red Sea, at a very early period. Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itſelf was unknown in Chriſtendom, until the time of the Croiſades. Its cultivation, and the method of expreſſing and purifying the juice, as practiſed by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are deſcribed by *Albertus Aquenſis*, a monkiſh writer, who obſerves that the Chriſtian ſoldiers in the Holy Land frequently derived refreſhment and ſupport, in a ſcarcity of proviſions, by ſucking the canes. It flouriſhed alſo in the Morea, and in the Iſlands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was tranſported into Sicily; but the time is not preciſely aſcertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the ſecond king of Sicily, to the monaſtery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding ſugar-canes, with all its rights, members and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From

From Sicily, the Spaniards are ſaid to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary and Cape-de-verd Iſlands, ſoon after they were diſcovered in the 15th century; and from ſome one of thoſe iſlands it has been ſuppoſed to have found its way, at an early period, to Braſil and the Weſt Indies; "producing a commerce (ſays Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru." CHAP. I.

Such is the commonly-received opinion reſpecting the hiſtory of this valuable production. Herrara poſitively aſſerts, that the ſugar-cane was tranſplanted into Hiſpaniola from the Canary Iſlands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of Aguilon *; but in this inſtance the reſpectable hiſtorian, however correct in general, is clearly miſtaken; it appearing by the teſtimony of Peter Martyr, in the third Book of his firſt Decad, written during Columbus's ſecond expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the ſugar-cane was, at that period, ſufficiently known in Hiſpaniola.

The fact ſeems to have been, that Columbus himſelf carried it thither among other articles and productions which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary Iſlands, in his ſecond voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—"Ad foetus pro-
"creandos, equas, oves, juvencas, et plura alia
"cum ſui generis maſculis: legumina, triticum,
"hordeum, et reliqua ijs ſimilia, non ſolùm
"alimenti, verùm etiam ſeminandi gratiâ, præ-
"fectus apparat: vites et aliarum noſtratium
"arborum plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad
"eam important: nullas enim apud eas inſulas
"notas arbores invenêre præter pinus palmaſque

* Vol. i. p. 320.

"et

BOOK V.

" et eas altiſſimas, ac miræ duritiei et proceritatis " ac rectitudinis, propter ſoli ubertatem; atque " etiam ignotos fructus alias plures procreantes. " Terram aiunt eſſe terrarum omnium quas am- " biunt ſidera, uberrimam." Although in this paſſage the ſugar-cane is not expreſsly enumerated, it is evident that it was not conſidered by Columbus as a native of the country; for he could not poſſibly have been unacquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia, and other parts of Spain; yet he found, it ſeems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly-diſcovered country, of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the pine and the palm. That the cane was then there, appears from a ſubſequent paſſage; in which, ſpeaking of ſuch vegetable productions as the Spaniards had ſown or planted in an incloſed garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr has theſe words, which, combined with the former, are, as I conceive, deciſive of the queſtion: —" Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres et alia id genus, in diem ſextum et trigeſimum carpſerunt. Sed nuſquam ſe meliores unquam comediſſe aiebant. Hæc hortenſia, toto anno habent recentia. *Cannarum radices ex quarum ſucco ſaccarum extorquetur, ſed non coagulatur ſuccus, cubitales cannas intra quindecimum etiam diem emiſerunt.*"

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and induſtry who maintain that the ſugar-cane is a native both of the iſlands and the continent of America, within the tropics. They aſſert, that it was found growing ſpontaneouſly in many parts of the new hemiſphere, when firſt explored by the Spaniſh invaders. P. Labat, who appears to have conſidered the queſtion with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion *,

* Tom. III. c. xv. p. 20.

and

and he quotes, in ſupport of it, among other authorities, that of Thomas Gage, an Engliſhman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occaſion to ſpeak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates ſugar-canes among the fruits and proviſions ſupplied the crew of his ſhip by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. "Now," obſerves Labat, "it is a fact, that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the ſmaller Antilles. Their ſhips commonly touched at thoſe iſlands indeed, for wood and water, and they left ſwine in the view of ſupplying with freſh proviſions ſuch of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were abſurd in the higheſt degree to ſuppoſe, that they would plant ſugar-canes, and put hogs a-ſhore at the ſame time to deſtroy them. CHAP. I.

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for beſtowing this plant on iſlands which they conſidered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpoſe that has been mentioned; and to ſuppoſe that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian diſpoſition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have ſurer teſtimony, and ſuch as proves, beyond all contradiction, that the ſugar-cane is the natural production of America. For, beſides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a Treatiſe on American plants, printed at Mexico, aſſerts, that the ſugar-cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary ſize, on the banks of the river Plate *, we are aſſured by Jean de Lery, a pro-

* Piſo obſerves, "In provincia Rio de la Plata, Cannas Sacchari ſponte enaſci, adoleſcereque in arbori proceritatem, atque chryſtalla ſaccharea æſtu ſolis exſudare, conſtat."

teſtant

BOOK V. teſtant miniſter, who was chaplain, in 1556, to the Dutch garriſon in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himſelf found ſugar-canes in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in ſituations never viſited by the Portugueſe. Father Hennepen, and other voyagers, bear teſtimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Miſſiſippi; and Jean de Laet to its ſpontaneous production in the Iſland of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant itſelf, therefore, but for the ſecret of making ſugar from it, that the Weſt Indies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portugueſe; and theſe to the nations of the eaſt."

Such is the reaſoning of Labat, which the learned Lafitau has pronounced incontrovertible; and it is greatly ſtrengthened by recent diſcoveries; the ſugar-cane having been found in many of the iſlands of the Pacific Ocean, by our late illuſtrious navigator Captain Cook.

In theſe accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The ſugar-cane might have grown ſpontaneouſly in many parts of the New World; and Columbus, unapprized of the circumſtance, might likewiſe have carried ſome of the plants to Hiſpaniola, and ſuch, I believe, was the fact. But be this as it may, the induſtry with which the Spaniſh ſettlers applied themſelves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contraſt to the manners of the preſent inhabitants; it appearing by the teſtimony of Oviedo, that no leſs than thirty *ingenios*, or ſugar mills, were eſtabliſhed on that iſland ſo early as 1535.

The botanical name of the ſugar-cane is *Arundo Saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whoſe edges are finely and ſharply ſerrated. The body of the cane is ſtrong but

but brittle, and when ripe of a fine ſtraw colour, inclinable to yellow; and it contains a ſoft pithy ſubſtance, which affords a copious ſupply of juice of a ſweetneſs the leaſt cloying and moſt agreeable in nature. The intermediate diſtance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the ſoil;—in general it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewiſe upon circumſtances. In ſtrong lands, and lands richly manured, I have ſeen ſome that meaſured twelve feet from the ſtole to the upper joint. The general height however (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to ſeven feet, and in very rich lands the ſtole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred ſuckers or ſhoots *. CHAP. I.

It may be ſuppoſed that a plant, thus rank and ſucculent, requires a ſtrong and deep ſoil to bring it to perfection, and, as far as my own obſervation has extended, I am of opinion that no land can be too rich for that purpoſe.—When bad ſugar is made from fat and fertile ſoils, properly ſituated, I am inclined to impute the blame, rather to miſmanagement in the manufacturer than to the land. The very beſt ſoil however that I have ſeen or heard of, for the production of ſugar of the fineſt quality, and in the largeſt proportion, is the aſhy loam of St. Chriſtopher's,

* The tops of canes ſometimes ſhoot up in *arrows*, decorated at the top with a pannicle, the glumes of which contain a whitiſh duſt, or rather ſeed; yet theſe being ſowed never vegetate, as I have heard, in the Weſt Indian iſlands; a circumſtance which perhaps may be adduced as a proof that the cane is not the ſpontaneous production of this part of the world. In Abyſſinia and other parts of the Eaſt it is eaſily raiſed from the ſeed. *Vid. Bruce's Travels.*

of

BOOK V. of which an account has been given in the hiſtory of that iſland. Next to that, is the ſoil which in Jamaica is called *brick-mold;* not as reſembling a brick in colour, but as containing ſuch a due mixture of clay and ſand, as is ſuppoſed to render it well adapted for the uſe of the kiln.—It is a deep, warm and mellow, hazel earth, eaſily worked; and though its ſurface ſoon grows dry after rain, the under ſtratum retains a conſiderable degree of moiſture in the drieſt weather;—with this advantage too, that even in the wetteſt ſeaſon, it ſeldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this ſoil (which are thoſe of the firſt growth) have been known in very fine ſeaſons to yield two tons and a half of ſugar per acre*. After this, may be reckoned the black mold, of ſeveral varieties. The beſt is the deep black earth of Barbadoes, Antigua, and ſome other of the Windward Iſlands; but there is a ſpecies of this mold in Jamaica that is but little, if any thing, inferior to it, which abounds with limeſtone and flint, on a ſubſtratum of ſoapy marle. Black mold on clay is more common, but as the mold is generally ſhallow, and the clay ſtiff and retentive of water, this laſt ſort of land requires great labour, both in ploughing and trenching, to render it profitable. Properly pulveriſed and manured, it becomes very productive; and may be ſaid to be inexhauſtible. It were endleſs to attempt a minute deſcription of all the other ſoils which are

* This ſpecies of ſoil abounds very generally in the French part of Hiſpaniola—which gives that noble iſland ſo great a ſuperiority over moſt of our own ſugar colonies. In Jamaica, it is confined to a few pariſhes only, and in thoſe pariſhes to particular ſpots. In ſome places this ſort of land is rather gravelly, but this circumſtance, if the ſeaſons are favourable, is of no great diſadvantage.

found

found in theſe iſlands. There is however a peculiar ſort of land on the north ſide of Jamaica, chiefly in the pariſh of Trelawney, that cannot be paſſed over unnoticed, not only on account of its ſcarcity, but its value; few ſoils producing finer ſugars, or ſuch (I have been told by ſugar refiners) *as anſwer ſo well in the pan*—an expreſſion, ſignifying, as I underſtand it, a greater return of refined ſugar than common. The land alluded to is generally of a red colour; the ſhades of which however vary conſiderably, from a deep chocolate to a rich ſcarlet; in ſome places it approaches to a bright yellow, but it is every where remarkable, when firſt turned up, for a gloſſy or ſhining ſurface, and if wetted, ſtains the fingers like paint. I have ſelected ſpecimens which are hardly diſtinguiſhable, by the eye or the touch, from the ſubſtance called gamboge. Earths of various ſhades of red and yellow, are found indeed in many other parts of the Weſt Indies, but in none of them are obſerved the ſame gloſſy appearance and coheſion as in the ſoil in queſtion, which appears to me to conſiſt of a native earth or pure loam with a mixture of clay and ſand. It is eaſily worked, and at the ſame time ſo tenacious, that a pond dug in this ſoil in a proper ſituation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, holds water like the ſtiffeſt clay. It is remarkable however that the ſame degree of ploughing or pulverization which is abſolutely neceſſary to render ſtiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unneceſſary but hurtful;—for though the ſoil is deep, it is at the ſame time far from being heavy; and it is naturally dry. As therefore too much expoſure to the ſcorching influence of a tropical ſun, deſtroys its fertility, the ſyſtem of huſbandry on ſugar plantations, in which this

CHAP. I.

BOOK V.

this ſoil abounds, is to depend chiefly on what are called *ratoon* canes. Ratoons are the ſprouts or ſuckers that ſpring from the roots, or ſtoles of the canes that have been previouſly cut for ſugar, and are commonly ripe in twelve months.—Canes of the firſt growth, as hath been obſerved, are called plant-canes. They are the immediate produce of the original plants or gems placed in the ground, and require from fifteen to ſeventeen months to bring them to maturity. The firſt yearly returns from their roots are called *firſt ratoons;* the ſecond year's growth, *ſecond ratoons;* and ſo on, according to their age. In moſt parts of the Weſt Indies it is uſual to hole and plant a certain proportion of the cane land (commonly one-third) in annual ſucceſſion. This, in the common mode of holing the ground by the hoe, is frequently attended with great and exceſſive labour to the negroes, which is ſaved altogether by the ſyſtem we are treating of. By the latter method, the planter, inſtead of ſtocking up his ratoons, and holing and planting the land anew, ſuffers the ſtoles to continue in the ground, and contents himſelf, as his cane-fields become thin and impoveriſhed, by ſupplying the vacant ſpaces with freſh plants. By theſe means, and the aid of manure, the produce of ſugar *per* acre, if not apparently equal to that from the beſt plant-canes in other ſoils, gives perhaps in the long-run full as great returns to the owner; conſidering the relative proportion of the labour and expence attending the different ſyſtems.—The common yielding of this land, on an average, is ſeven hogſheads of ſixteen cwt. to ten acres, which are cut annually.

In the cultivation of other lands in Jamaica eſpecially) the plough has been introduced of late years,

years, and in ſome few caſes to great advantage; but it is not every ſoil or ſituation that will admit the uſe of the plough; ſome lands being much too ſtoney, and others too ſteep; and I am ſorry I have occaſion to remark, that a practice commonly prevails in Jamaica, on properties where this auxiliary is uſed, which would exhauſt the fineſt lands in the world. It is that of ploughing, then croſs ploughing, round-ridging, and harrowing the ſame lands from year to year, or at leaſt every other year, without affording manure: accordingly it is found that this method is utterly deſtructive of the ratoon or ſecond growth, and altogether ruinous. It is indeed aſtoniſhing that any planter of common reading or obſervation, ſhould be paſſive under ſo pernicious a ſyſtem.— Some gentlemen however of late manage better: their practice is to break up ſtiff and clayey land, by one or two ploughings, early in the ſpring, and give it a ſummer's fallow. In the autumn following, being then mellow and more eaſily worked, it is holed and planted by manual labour, after the old method, which ſhall be preſently deſcribed. But in truth, the only advantageous ſyſtem of ploughing in the Weſt Indies, is to confine it to the ſimple operation of *holing*, which may certainly be performed with much greater facility and diſpatch by the plough, than by the hoe; and the relief which, in the caſe of ſtiff and dry ſoils, is thus given to the negroes, exceeds all eſtimation, in the mind of a humane and provident owner. On this ſubject I ſpeak from practical knowledge. At a plantation of my own, the greateſt part of the land which is annually planted, is neatly and ſufficiently laid into cane-holes, by the labour of one able man, three boys and eight oxen, with the common ſingle-

BOOK V.

ſingle-wheeled plough. The plough-ſhare indeed is ſomewhat wider than uſual, but this is the only difference, and the method of ploughing is the ſimpleſt poſſible.—By returning the plough back along the furrow, the turf is alternately thrown to the right and to the left, forming a trench ſeven inches deep, about two feet and a half wide at the top, and one foot wide at the bottom.—A ſpace of eighteen or twenty inches is left between each trench, on which the mold being thrown by the ſhare, the banks are properly formed, and the holing is compleat. Thus the land is not exhauſted by being too much expoſed to the ſun; and in this manner a field of twenty acres is holed with one plough, and with great eaſe, in thirteen days. The plants are afterwards placed in the trench as in the common method, which remains to be deſcribed.

The uſual mode of holing by manual labour is as follows:—The quantity of land intended to be planted, being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is firſt divided into ſeveral plats of certain dimenſions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each; the ſpaces between each plat or diviſion, are left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting, and are called *intervals*. Each plat is then ſub-divided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into ſmall ſquares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes indeed the ſquares are a foot larger; but this circumſtance makes but little difference. The negroes are then placed in a row in the firſt line, one to a ſquare, and directed to dig out with their hoes the ſeveral ſquares, commonly to the depth of five or ſix inches. The mold which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower ſide, the excavation or cane-hole ſeldom exceeds fifteen inches in width

width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. The negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before. Thus the ſeveral ſquares between each line are formed into a trench of much the ſame dimenſions with that which is made by the plough. An able negro will dig from ſixty to eighty of theſe holes for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been previouſly ploughed and lain fallow, the ſame negro will dig nearly double the number in the ſame time *.

The cane-holes or trench being now compleated, whether by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings ſelected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for ſugar (each cutting containing five or ſix gems) two of them are ſufficient for a cane-hole of the dimenſions deſcribed †. Theſe, being placed lon-

* As the negroes work at this buſineſs very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily ſtrength, it is ſometimes the practice to put two negroes to a ſingle ſquare; but if the land has not had the previous aſſiſtance of the plough, it commonly requires the labour of 50 able negroes for 13 days to hole 20 acres. In Jamaica, ſome gentlemen, to eaſe their own ſlaves, have this laborious part of the planting buſineſs performed by job work. The uſual price for holing and planting is £6. currency per acre (equal to £.4. 7*s.* ſterling). The coſt of falling and clearing heavy wood land is commonly as much more.

† It is a maxim with ſome people to plant *thin* on poor lands, and *thick* in rich; but it is a maxim founded in error. They ſuppoſe that the richer the ſoil is, the greater number of plants it will maintain; which is true enough; but they forget that the plant itſelf will, in ſuch ſoils, put forth ſhoots in abundance; and moſt of which, *if the lands are not over-planted*, will come to perfection; whereas from thick planting in rich mold the ſhoots choke and deſtroy each other. On the other hand, in ſoils where the canes will not ſtock, (viz. put out freſh ſhoots) the overſeer muſt ſupply the greater number of plants in the firſt inſtance, or the produce will be little or nothing.

gitudinally

BOOK V.

gitudinally in the bottom of the hole, are covered with mold about two inches deep; the reſt of the bank being intended for future uſe. In twelve or fourteen days the young ſprouts begin to appear, and, as ſoon as they riſe a few inches above the ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of weeds, and furniſhed with an addition of mold from the banks. This is uſually performed by the hand. At the end of four or five months, the banks are wholly levelled, and the ſpaces between the rows carefully hoe-ploughed. Frequent cleanings, while the canes are young, are indeed ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that no other merit in an overſeer can compenſate for the want of attention in this particular.—A careful manager will remove at the ſame time, all the lateral ſhoots or ſuckers that ſpring up after the canes begin to joint, as they ſeldom come to maturity, and draw nouriſhment from the original plants.

The propereſt ſeaſon, generally ſpeaking, for planting, is unqueſtionably in the interval between Auguſt and the beginning of November. By having the advantage of the autumnal ſeaſons, the young canes become ſufficiently luxuriant to ſhade the ground before the dry weather ſets in. Thus the roots are kept cool and the earth moiſt. By this means too, they are ripe for the mill in the beginning of the ſecond year, ſo as to enable the overſeer or manager to finiſh his crop (except as to the few canes which are reſerved to furniſh cuttings or tops for planting) by the latter end of May. Canes planted in and after November loſe the advantage of the autumnal rains, and it often happens that dry weather, in the beginning of the enſuing year, retards their vegetation, until the vernal ſeaſons, or May rains, ſet in; when they ſprout both at the roots and the joints; ſo that by

by the time they are cut, the field is loaded with unripe ſuckers, inſtead of ſugar-canes. A January plant, however, commonly turns out well; but canes planted very late in the ſpring, though they have the benefit of the May rains, ſeldom anſwer expectation; for they generally come in unſeaſonably, and throw the enſuing crops out of regular rotation. They are therefore frequently cut before they are ripe; or, if the autumnal ſeaſons ſet in early, are cut in wet weather, which has probably occaſioned them to ſpring afreſh; in either caſe the effect is the ſame: The juice is unconcocted, and all the ſap being in motion, the root is deprived of its natural nouriſhment, to the great injury of the ratoon. The chief objection to a fall plant is this: that the canes become rank and top-heavy, at a period when violent rains and high winds are expected, and are therefore frequently lodged before they are fit to cut. The obſervation, when applied to canes planted in rich and new lands, is juſt; and on this account, ſome gentlemen have introduced the following ſyſtem: They plant in Auguſt and September, clean the young ſprouts, and give them mold occaſionally, until the beginning of January, when they cut the young plants cloſe to the ground with knives, and level the bank; ſpreading the remainder of the mold over the roots; which ſoon afterwards ſend out a number of vigorous and luxuriant ſhoots all of an equal growth. It is alledged that by this means the cane is not too rank in the ſtormy months, and nevertheleſs comes to perfection in good time the ſucceeding ſpring. I cannot ſay that I have had, of my own experience, a fair trial of this method; but I have been aſſured by very intelligent overſeers, that

CHAP. I.

BOOK V. they never knew canes yield ſo well, as by this practice.

On the whole, it is a ſtriking and juſt remark of Colonel Martin, that there is not a greater error in the ſyſtem of planting, than to make ſugar, or to plant canes in improper ſeaſons of the year; for by miſmanagements of this kind every ſucceeding crop is put out of regular order. A plantation, he obſerves, ought to be conſidered as a well-conſtructed machine, compounded of various wheels turning different ways, yet all contributing to the great end propoſed; but if any one part runs too faſt, or too ſlow, in proportion to the reſt, the main purpoſe is defeated. It is in vain, continues he, to plead in excuſe the want of hands or cattle; becauſe theſe wants muſt either be ſupplied, or the planter muſt contract his views, and proportion them to his abilities; for the attempt to do more than can be attained, will lead into perpetual diſorder, and conclude in poverty.

Unfortunately, however, neither prudence in the management, nor favourable ſoils, nor ſeaſonable weather, will at all times, exempt the planter from misfortunes. The ſugar-cane is ſubject to a diſeaſe which no foreſight can obviate, and for which human wiſdom has hitherto, I fear, attempted in vain to find a remedy.—This calamity is called the *blaſt;* it is the *aphis* of Linnæus, and is diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, the black and the yellow; of which the latter is the moſt deſtructive. It conſiſts of myriads of little inſects, inviſible to the naked eye, whoſe proper food is the juice of the cane; in ſearch of which they wound the tender blades, and conſequently deſtroy the veſſels. Hence the circulation being impeded, the growth of the plant is checked,

ed, until it withers or dies in proportion to the degree of the ravage *. CHAP. I.

Over what appears to be thus irremediable, it is idle to lament; and I mention the circumſtance chiefly to have an opportunity of repeating what I have heard frequently affirmed, that the *blaſt* never attacks thoſe plantations, where colonies have been introduced of that wonderful little animal the carnivorous ant †. It is certain that theſe minute and buſy creatures ſoon clear a ſugar plantation of rats (in ſome places a moſt deſtructive peſt) and that inſects and animalcula of all kinds, ſeem to conſtitute their natural food. The fact therefore may be true; but having had no opportunity to verify it by ocular demonſtration, I conſign it over to future enquiry. If the information be juſt, the diſcovery is of importance.

* In ſome of the Windward Iſlands, the cane, in very dry weather, is liable to be deſtroyed alſo by a ſpecies of grub called the *borer*. This calamity is fortunately unknown, at leaſt to any extent, in Jamaica; and never having ſeen it, I can give no certain deſcription of it. I conceive the inſect to be the *eruca minima e rubro fuſca* of Sloane.

† It is the *Formica omnivora* of Linnæus, and is called in Jamaica the *Raffles'* ant, having been introduced there, as is commonly believed, by one Thomas Raffles, from the Havanna, about the year 1762.—But I conceive it was known in the iſland from the earlieſt times, and that it is preciſely deſcribed by Sloane, as the *Formica fuſca minima, antennis longiſſimis*. It is probably the ſame which, in the introduction to his firſt volume, he relates that the ancient Spaniſh inhabitants ſo much complained of. He ſays, that the Spaniards deſerted the part of the country where they had firſt ſettled, *merely on account of theſe troubleſome inmates*; declaring, *that they frequently eat out the eyes of their young children as they lay in their cradles*. If the reader has faith enough to credit this circumſtance, he may believe ſome marvellous ſtories of the ſame kind, which are now-a-days related of the ſame inſects by many venerable old gentlewomen in Jamaica.

BOOK V.

Hitherto, I have ſaid nothing of a very important branch in the ſyſtem of ſugar-planting, I mean the method of manuring the lands. The neceſſity of giving even the beſt ſoil occaſional aſſiſtance is univerſally admitted, and the uſual way of doing it in the Weſt Indies is now to be deſcribed.

The manure generally uſed is a compoſt formed,

1ſt. Of the vegetable aſhes, drawn from the fires of the boiling and ſtill houſes.

2dly. Feculencies diſcharged from the ſtill-houſe, mixed up with rubbiſh of buildings, white-lime, &c.

3dly. Refuſe, or field-traſh, (i. e.) the decayed leaves and ſtems of the canes; ſo called in contradiſtinction to cane-traſh, reſerved for fuel, and hereafter to be deſcribed.

4thly. Dung, obtained from the horſe and mule ſtables, and from moveable pens, or ſmall incloſures made by poſts and rails, occaſionally ſhifted upon the lands intended to be planted, and into which the cattle are turned at night.

5thly. Good mold, collected from *gullies*, and other waſte places, and thrown into the cattle-*pens*.

The firſt, (i. e.) *aſhes*, is commonly ſuppoſed to be a manure of itſelf, well adapted for cold and ſtiff clays; and in ſome parts of Jamaica, it is the practice, in the fall of the year, to carry it out unmixed, in cart loads, to the land where it is intended to be uſed. It is left there (or in ſome ſpot adjoining) in large heaps, until the land is holed; after which a baſket full, containing commonly from fifteen to twenty pounds, is thrown into each cane-hole, and mixed with the mold at the time the plants are put into the ground.

ground. It may be doubted, however, whether ashes, applied in this manner, are of much advantage. I have been told, that if the land is opened five years afterwards, they will be found undissolved *. At other times, wain loads of the compost or dunghill before-mentioned, are carried out, and used in nearly the same manner as the ashes. CHAP. I.

But the chief dependance of the Jamaica planter in manuring his lands, is on the moveable pens, or occasional inclosures before described; not so much for the quantity of dung collected by means of those inclosures, as for the advantage of the urine from the cattle (the best of all manures), and the labour which is saved by this system. I believe, indeed, there are a great many overseers who give their land no aid of any kind, other than that of shifting the cattle from one pen to another, on the intended spot for planting, during three or four months before it is ploughed or holed.

What has hitherto been said, however, relates solely to the method of preparing lands for plant canes. Those who trust chiefly to *ratoons*, find it as necessary to give their cane-fields attention and assistance, from the time the canes are cut, as it was before they were planted. It is the advice of Colonel Martin, so soon as the canes are carried to the mill, to cut off, by a sharp hoe, all the heads of the cane-stools, *three inches below the surface of the soil*, and then fill up the hole with fine mold; by which means, he thinks that all the sprouts rising from below, will derive more nutriment, and grow more equally and vigorously than otherwise. I know not that this advice is adopted in any of the sugar islands. It is the

* On wet lands, not easily trenched, ashes may be useful in absorbing superfluous moisture, and may therefore sometimes prove a good top dressing.

practice,

BOOK V.

practice, however, in many parts of Jamaica, to ſpread baſkets full of dung round the ſtools, ſo ſoon after the canes have been cut as circumſtances will admit, and the ground has been refreſhed by rains. In dry and ſcorching weather it would be labour loſt. The young ſprouts are, at the ſame time, cleared of weeds; and the dung which is ſpread round them, being covered with cane-traſh that its virtues may not be exhaled by the ſun, is found at the end of three or four months, to be ſoaked into and incorporated with the mold. At this period the ratoons are again well cleaned, and the ſpaces between the ranks effectually hoe-ploughed; after which very little care is thought requiſite until the canes are fit for cutting; the ancient practice of *traſhing* ratoons (i. e.) ſtripping them of their outward leaves, being of late very generally and juſtly exploded *.

Such is the general ſyſtem of preparing and manuring the lands in Jamaica. I have been told, that more attention is paid to this branch of huſbandry, in ſome of the iſlands to Windward; but I ſuſpect that there is, in all of them, very great room for improvement, by means of judicious tillage, and artificial aſſiſtance. Why, for inſtance, are not the manures of lime and ſea-ſand, which abound in theſe iſlands, and have been found ſo exceedingly beneficial in Great

* It ſhould have been obſerved, that it is ſometimes the cuſtom, after a field of canes has been cut, to ſet fire to the traſh. This is called *burning off*, and there are managers and overſeers who conſider it as one of the beſt methods of meliorating the land. I confeſs that I am of a different opinion. Perhaps, indeed, in moiſt, ſtiff, and clayey lands, *it may do no harm*; and this negative praiſe is the only merit I can allow it. From the uſual and prevalent nature of the ſoil beſt adapted for ſugar, I am perſuaded that, nine times in ten, it is a miſchievous practice.

Britain,

Britain, brought into uſe? Limeſtone alone, even without burning, (the expence of which might perhaps be an objection) has been found to anſwer in cold, heavy, and moiſt lands; no other trouble being requiſite than merely to ſpread it over the ground, and break it into ſmall pieces by ſledge-hammers. Of this, the quantities are inexhauſtible. Marle is another manure of vaſt and general utility in Great Britain. It enriches the pooreſt land, opens the ſtiffeſt, and ſweetens and corrects the moſt rank. Lands have been raiſed by the uſe of this manure, from two ſhillings per acre to a guinea, annual rent. Now there is no country under the ſun, wherein a ſoft unctuous marle more abounds than in Jamaica. To the queſtion, *why no trial has yet been made of it?* no better anſwer, I believe, can be given, than that the planters in general have no leiſure for experiments, and that it is difficult to make agents and ſervants (who have every thing to riſk, and nothing to gain) walk out of the ſure and beaten track of daily practice. Every man's experience confirms this obſervation.

But it is not my province to propoſe ſyſtems, but to record facts;—to deſcribe things *as they are*, rather than as I conceive *they ought to be;* and it is now time to conduct the reader from the field, into the boiling-houſe, and convert the farmer into the manufacturer.

CHAP. II.

Crop-time the ſeaſon of health and feſtivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Proceſs for obtaining raw or muſcovado ſugar.—Melaſſes, and its diſpoſal.—Proceſs of making clayed ſugar.—Of rum.—Still-houſes and ſtills.—Ciſterns and their ingredients.—Windward Iſland proceſs.—Jamaica method of double diſtillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of ſweets, aſcertained and ſtated.

BOOK V.

THE time of crop in the ſugar iſlands, is the ſeaſon of gladneſs and feſtivity to man and beaſt. So palatable, ſalutary, and nouriſhing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation, drinking freely of it, derives health and vigour from its uſe. The meagre and ſickly among the negroes, exhibit a ſurprizing alteration in a few weeks after the mill is ſet in action. The labouring horſes, oxen, and mules, though almoſt conſtantly at work during this ſeaſon, yet being indulged with plenty of the green tops of this noble plant, and ſome of the ſcummings from the boiling-houſe, improve more than at any other period of the year. Even the pigs and poultry fatten on the refuſe. In ſhort, on a well-regulated plantation, under a humane and benevolent director, there is ſuch an appearance during crop-time of plenty and buſy cheerfulneſs, as to ſoften, in a great meaſure, the hardſhip of ſlavery, and induce a ſpectator to hope, when the miſeries

miſeries of life are repreſented as inſupportable, that they are ſometimes exaggerated through the medium of fancy *. CHAP. II.

The great obſtacle at this ſeaſon to the progreſs of ſuch of the planters as are not happily furniſhed with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or inſufficiency of their mills; for though a ſugar-mill, whether worked by water, wind, or cattle, is a very ſimple contrivance, great force is nevertheleſs requiſite to make it overcome the reſiſtance which it neceſſarily meets with. It conſiſts principally of three upright iron-plated rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter; and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between theſe rollers, the canes (being previouſly cut ſhort, and tied into bundles) are twice compreſſed; for having paſſed through the firſt and ſecond rollers, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, or ſcreen, called in Jamaica the *Dumb-returner*, and forced back through the ſecond and third; an operation

* "He" (ſays honeſt old Share the phyſician) "that undertakes to argue againſt *ſweets* in general, takes upon him a very difficult taſk, for nature ſeems to have recommended this taſte to all ſorts of creatures; the birds of the air, the beaſts of the field, many reptiles and flies ſeem to be pleaſed and delighted with the ſpecific reliſh of all ſweets, and to diſtaſte its contrary. Now the ſugar-cane, or ſugar, I hold for the top and higheſt ſtandard of vegetable ſweets." Sugar is obtainable in ſome degree from moſt vegetables, and Dr. Cullen is of opinion, that ſugar is *directly* nutritious. There is alſo good reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the general uſe of ſugar in Europe has had the effect of extinguiſhing the ſcurvy, and many other diſeaſes formerly epidemical.

which

BOOK V. which ſqueezes them completely dry, and ſometimes even reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into a veſſel called the Receiver. The refuſe, or macerated rind of the cane, (which is called *cane-traſh*, in contradiſtinction to field-traſh deſcribed in the preceding chapter) ſerves for fuel to boil the liquor *.

The

* In Barbadoes, and ſome other of the iſlands where the ſea-breeze is unobſtructed by high mountains, wind-mills work to admiration; but in Jamaica, unleſs on high ſituations near the coaſt, they ſeldom anſwer the expence of their erection; and the planter who is not happily ſituated near a copious ſtream of water, muſt truſt principally to the drudgery of horſes, oxen, or mules, in what is uſually called a cattle-mill; which, generally ſpeaking, is ſuch a heavy and laborious piece of machinery, that the heart ſickens at beholding it work. Various have been the contrivances to obviate its defects. Friction-wheels have been applied in ſome caſes, and the ſide-rollers have been enlarged in others; but I fear that no certain dependance can be placed on any of theſe ſuppoſed improvements. If, indeed, a judgment may be formed from a few ſolitary inſtances, no improvement in the plan or deſign is neceſſary; for it ſometimes happens that cattle-mills conſtructed on the old ſimple ſyſtem of three rollers of equal dimenſions, perform with as much eaſe and facility as can be reaſonably expected. I have ſeen a machine of this kind, which was worked with eight mules, deliver from three hundred to three hundred and fifty gallons of liquor in an hour, from very indifferent canes, and ſometimes much more; and this too, without any great fatigue to the mules. Surely it deſerves enquiry why, as ſuch facility is *ſometimes* experienced, it is not experienced *always?* I mean, ſuppoſing the ſtrength of the mules and the reſiſtance to be equal. The fact, however, is, that other mills, on the ſame apparent conſtruction, urged by the ſame force, and operating on the ſame degree of reſiſtance, ſhall not give, from canes equally juicy, one half the ſame return in the ſame time. The fault, therefore, ſeems to me to reſt more with the mill-wright than with the machine; and I am always inclined, in ſuch caſes, to ſuſpect, either that the work is not true, that the mill is improperly braced,

The juice from the mill ordinarily contains eight parts of pure water, one part of ſugar, and one part made up of groſs oil, and mucilaginous gum with a portion of eſſential oil. The proportions are taken at a medium; for ſome juice has been ſo rich as to make a hogſhead of ſugar from thirteen hundred gallons, and ſome ſo watery as to require more than double that quantity. By a hogſhead I mean ſixteen hundred weight. The richer the juice is, the more free it is found from redundant oil and gum; ſo that an exact analyſis of any one quantity of juice would convey very little knowledge of the contents of any other quantity *.

The above component parts are natural to, and are found in, all cane-juice; beſides which, the following matters are uſually contained in it.—Some of the bands or green tops, which ſerve to tie the canes in bundles, are frequently ground in, and yield a raw acid juice exceedingly diſpoſed to ferment and render the whole liquor ſour. Some pieces of the traſh or ligneous part of the cane; ſome dirt; and laſtly, a ſubſtance of ſome importance, which, as it has no name, I will call *the cruſt*. The cruſt is a thin black coat of matter that ſurrounds the cane between the joints, beginning at each joint and gradually growing thinner the farther from the joint upwards, till the upper part between the joints appears entirely free from it, and reſumes its bright yellow colour. It is frequently thick enough to be ſcaled off by the point of a pen-knife. It is a fine black pow-

braced, or that there is ſome other defect which may and ought to be remedied, without the vaſt expence to which the diſappointed planter, on theſe occaſions, is commonly driven in the erection of new machinery.

* A pound of ſugar from a gallon of raw liquor, is reckoned in Jamaica very good yielding. Sugar, chemically analyſed, yields phlegm, acid, oil, and ſpongy gloſſy charcoal.

der,

BOOK V.

der, that mixes with the clammy exudations perſpired from the cane, and is moſt probably produced by *animalcula*. As the fairneſs of the ſugar is one of the marks of its goodneſs, a ſmall quantity of ſuch a ſubſtance muſt conſiderably prejudice the commodity.

The proceſs for obtaining the ſugar is thus conducted. The juice or liquor runs from the receiver to the boiling-houſe, along a wooden gutter lined with lead. In the boiling-houſe it is received (according to the modern improved ſyſtem which almoſt univerſally prevails in Jamaica) into one of the copper pans or cauldrons called clarifiers. Of theſe there are commonly three; and their dimenſions are generally determined by the power of ſupplying them with liquor. There are water-mills that will grind with great eaſe canes ſufficient for thirty hogſheads of ſugar in a week. On plantations thus happily provided, the means of quick boiling are indiſpenſibly requiſite, or the cane-liquor will unavoidably become tainted before it can be expoſed to the fire. The pureſt cane-juice will not remain twenty minutes in the receiver without fermenting *. Clarifiers, therefore, are ſometimes ſeen of one thouſand gallons each. But as powers of the extent deſcribed are uncommon, I ſhall rather confine myſelf to ſuch properties as fall within the reach of daily obſervation; to plantations, for inſtance, that make on a medium during crop-time, from fifteen to twenty hogſheads of ſugar a week. On ſuch eſtates, three clarifiers of three or four hundred

* As cane-juice is ſo very liable to fermentation, it is neceſſary alſo that the canes ſhould be ground as ſoon as poſſible after they are cut, and great care taken to keep and throw aſide thoſe which are tainted, which may afterwards be ground for the ſtill-houſe.

gallons

gallons each, are ſufficient. With pans of this ſize, the liquor, when clarified, may be drawn off *at once*, and there is leiſure to cleanſe the veſſels every time they are uſed. Each clarifier is provided either with a ſyphon, or a cock for drawing off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a ſeparate fire, each chimney having an iron ſlider, which being ſhut, the fire goes out for want of air. Theſe circumſtances are indiſpenſible, and the advantages of them will preſently be ſhewn *. CHAP. II.

The ſtream then from the receiver having filled the clarifier with freſh liquor, and the fire being lighted, the *temper*, which is commonly Briſtol white-lime in powder, is ſtirred into it. One great intention of this is to neutralize the ſuperabundant acid, and which to get properly rid of, is the great difficulty in ſugar-making. This is generally effected by the *Alkali* or lime; part of which, at the ſame time, becomes the baſis of the ſugar. The quantity neceſſary for this purpoſe, muſt of courſe vary with the quality both of the lime and of the cane-liquor.—Some planters allow a pint of Briſtol lime to every hundred gallons of liquor; but this proportion I believe is generally found too large.—

* The clarifiers are commonly placed in the middle or at one end of the boiling-houſe. If at one end, the boiler called the *teache* is placed at the other, and ſeveral boilers (generally three) are ranged between them. The teache is ordinarily from 70 to 100 gallons, and the boilers between the clarifiers and teache diminiſh in ſize from the firſt to the laſt.—Where the clarifiers are in the middle, there is uſually a ſet of three boilers of each ſide, which conſtitute in effect a double boiling-houſe. On very large eſtates this arrangement is found uſeful and neceſſary. The objection to ſo great a number is the expence of fuel, to obviate which in ſome degree, the three boilers on each ſide of the clarifiers are commonly hung to one fire.

The

BOOK V.

The lime is perceptible in the ſugar both to the ſmell and taſte, and precipitates in the copper pans a black inſoluble calx, which ſcorches the bottom of the veſſels, and is not detached without difficulty. I conceive therefore that little more than half the quantity mentioned above, is a better medium proportion, and, in order that leſs of it may be precipitated to the bottom, an inconveniency attending the uſe of dry lime, Mr. Bouſie's method of diſſolving it in boiling water, previous to mixing it with the cane juice, appears to me to be highly judicious *.

As the fire encreaſes in force, and the liquor grows hot, a ſcum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane,

* This gentleman (Mr. Bouſie) to whom the aſſembly of Jamaica gave £.1000 for his improvements in the art of ſugar-boiling, in a paper diſtributed by him among the members, recommends the uſe of a vegetable *alkali*, or aſhes of wood calcinated, ſuch as pimento-tree, dumb-cane, fern-tree, caſhew or logwood, as affording a better temper than quick-lime; but he was afterwards ſenſible that ſugar formed on the baſis of fixed alkaline ſalts never ſtands the ſea, unleſs ſome earth is joined with the ſalts. Such earth as approaches neareſt to that which is the baſis of allum, would perhaps be moſt proper. As ſugar on a vegetable alkaline baſis, is generally as much ſuperior in colour, as that on lime is in grain; how far a judicious mixture of vegetable alkaline ſalts and lime, might prove a better temper than either lime or alkaline ſalts alone, is an enquiry that ought to be purſued. If there were no redundant acid in cane-liquor, lime and any other *alkali* would be hurtful, as may be ſhewn by adding a few grains of lime or *alkali* to a clear ſolution of refined ſugar: a precipitation will enſue. In ſome parts of Jamaica, where the cane-liquor was exceedingly rich, Mr. Bouſie made very good ſugar without a particle of temper. I have ſaid, that too much temper is perceptible in the ſugar, both to the ſmell and taſte: it might be added, *and alſo to the ſight*. It tinges the liquor firſt yellow, and if in exceſs turns it to a dark red. Too much temper likewiſe prevents the melaſſes from ſeparating from the ſugar when it is potted or put into the hogſhead.

with

with ſome of the oil, and ſuch impurities as the mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is now ſuffered gradually to encreaſe, until it riſes to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor muſt by no means be ſuffered to boil: it is known to be ſufficiently heated when the ſcum begins to riſe into bliſters, which break into white froth, and appear in general in about forty minutes. The damper is then applied, and the fire extinguiſhed; after which, the liquor is ſuffered to remain a full hour, if circumſtances will admit, undiſturbed; during this interval great part of the feculencies and impurities will attract each other, and riſe in the ſcum. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, either by a ſyphon, which draws up a pure defecated ſtream through the ſcum, or by means of a cock at the bottom. In either caſe the ſcum ſinks down unbroken as the liquor flows, its tenacity preventing any admixture. The liquor is received into a gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, and, if originally produced from good and untainted canes, will now appear almoſt, if not perfectly, tranſparent *.

CHAP. II.

The advantage of clarifying the liquor in this manner, inſtead of forcing an immediate ebullition, as practiſed formerly, is viſible to the moſt inattentive obſerver. The labour which it ſaves in ſcumming, is wonderful. Neither can ſcumming properly cleanſe the ſubject; for when the liquor boils violently, the whole body of it circulates

* The merit of introducing into Jamaica the clarifiers at preſent in uſe, with ſyphons and dampers, was claimed by Mr. Samuel Sainthill, and an excluſive patent, to ſecure his claim, was granted to him in 1778 by an act of the aſſembly.

BOOK V. culates with ſuch rapidity as to carry down again the very impurities that had come up to the ſurface, and with a leſs violent heat would have ſtaid there.

In the grand or evaporating copper, which ſhould be large enough to receive the net contents of one of the clarifiers, the liquor is ſuffered to boil; and as the ſcum riſes, it is continually taken off by large ſcummers, until the liquor grows finer and ſomewhat thicker. This labour is continued until, from the ſcumming and evaporation, the ſubject is ſufficiently reduced in quantity to be contained in the next or ſecond copper, into which it is then laded. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the ſecond copper the boiling and ſcumming are continued; and if the ſubject is not ſo clean as is expected, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended not merely to give more temper, but alſo to dilute the liquor, which ſometimes thickens too faſt to permit the feculencies to run together and riſe in the ſcum. Liquor is ſaid to have a good appearance in the ſecond copper, when the froth in boiling ariſes in large bubbles, and is but little diſcoloured. When, from ſuch ſcumming and evaporation, the liquor is again ſufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is laded into it, and ſo on to the laſt copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement ſuppoſes four boilers or coppers, excluſive of the three clarifiers.

In the teache the ſubject is ſtill further evaporated, till it is judged ſufficiently boiled to be removed from the fire. This operation is uſually called *ſtriking*; i. e. lading the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the cooler.

The

The cooler, of which there are commonly ſix, is a ſhallow wooden veſſel, about eleven inches deep, ſeven feet in length, and from five to ſix feet wide. A cooler of this ſize holds a hogſhead of ſugar. Here the ſugar grains; i. e. as it cools, it runs into a coarſe irregular maſs of imperfect ſemiformed cryſtals, ſeparating itſelf from the melaſſes. From the cooler it is carried to the curing-houſe, where the melaſſes drains from it *. CHAP. II.

But, before we follow it into the curing-houſe, it may be proper to notice the rule for judging when the ſubject is ſufficiently evaporated for *ſtriking*, or become fit for being laded from the teache to the cooler. Many of the negro boilers gueſs ſolely by the eye (which by long habit they do with great accuracy), judging by the appearance of the grain on the back of the ladle; but the practice moſt in uſe is to judge by what is called *the touch*; i. e. taking up with the thumb a ſmall portion of the hot liquor from the ladle; and, as the heat diminiſhes, drawing with the forefinger the liquid into a thread. This thread will ſuddenly break, and ſhrink from the thumb to the ſuſpended finger, in different lengths, according as the liquor is more or leſs boiled. The proper boiling height for ſtrong muſcovado ſugar, is generally determined by a thread of a quarter of an inch long. It is evident that certainty in this experiment can be attained only by

* It may be proper in this place to obſerve, that, in order to obtain a large-grained ſugar, it muſt be ſuffered to cool *ſlowly and gradually*. If the coolers are too ſhallow, the grain is injured in a ſurpriſing manner. Any perſon may be convinced of this, by pouring ſome of the hot ſyrup, when fit for ſtriking, into a pewter plate. He will immediately find it will have a very ſmall grain.

BOOK V.

long habit, and that no verbal precepts will furniſh any degree of ſkill in a matter depending wholly on conſtant practice *.

I now return to the curing-houſe, which is a large airy building, provided with a capacious melaſſes ciſtern, the ſides of which are ſloped and lined with terras, or boards. Over this ciſtern there is a frame of maſſy joiſt-work without boarding. On the joiſts of this frame, empty hogſheads, without headings, are ranged. In

* It is probable that from this practice of trying by the *touch (tactio)* the veſſel called the teache derives its name. A method more certain and ſcientific was recommended ſome years ago to the public, by my learned friend John Proculus Baker, Eſquire, Barriſter at Law, in the Iſland of Jamaica, in a Treatiſe publiſhed by him, in 1775, intituled, *An Eſſay on the Art of making Muſcovado Sugar.* It is as follows:—"Provide a "ſmall thin pane of clear crown glaſs, ſet in a frame, which "I would call a *tryer;* on this drop two or three drops of "the ſubject, one on the other, and carry your tryer out of "the boiling-houſe into the air. Obſerve your ſubject, and "more particularly whether it grains freely, and whether a "ſmall edge of melaſſes ſeparates at the bottom. I am well "ſatisfied that a little experience will enable you to judge "what appearance the whole ſkip will put on, *when cold*, by "this ſpecimen, which is alſo *cold*. This method is uſed by "chemiſts, to try evaporated ſolutions of all other ſalts; it "may ſeem, therefore, ſomewhat ſtrange it has not been long "adopted in the boiling-houſe."—I cannot mention Mr. Baker's Treatiſe, without obſerving, that I am conſiderably indebted to it in the courſe of this chapter, having adopted (with ſome ſmall variation, founded on late improvements) his account of the proceſs of boiling ſugar. But the inhabitants of the ſugar iſlands are under ſtill greater obligations to Mr. Baker;—for it appears to me, that the preſent improved ſyſtem of clarifying the cane-liquor, by means of veſſels hung to ſeparate fires, and provided with dampers to prevent ebullition, was firſt ſuggeſted to Mr. Sainthill (who three years afterwards claimed the merit of the invention) by the treatiſe in queſtion; a performance that, for uſeful knowledge, lucid order, and elegance, both in arrangement and compoſition, would have done honour to the firſt writer of the age.

the

the bottoms of theſe hogſheads eight or ten holes are bored, through each of which the ſtalk of a plantain leaf is thruſt, ſix or eight inches below the joiſts, and is long enough to ſtand upright above the top of the hogſhead. Into theſe hogſheads the maſs from the cooler is put, which is called *potting*; and the melaſſes drains through the ſpungy ſtalk and drops into the ciſtern, from whence it is occaſionally taken for diſtillation. The ſugar in about three weeks grows tolerably dry and fair. It is then ſaid to be cured, and the proceſs is finiſhed *.

CHAP. II.

Sugar, thus obtained, is called *muſcovado*, and is the raw material from whence the Britiſh ſugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump. There is another ſort, which was formerly much approved in Great Britain for domeſtic purpoſes, and was generally known by the name of Liſbon ſugar. It is fair, but of ſoft texture, and in the Weſt Indies is called *clayed* ſugar; the proceſs is conducted as follows:—

A quantity of ſugar from the cooler is put into conical pots or pans, called by the French *formes*, with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom, for the melaſſes to drain through, but which at firſt is cloſed with a plug. When the ſugar in theſe pots is cool, and become a fixed body, which is diſcoverable by the middle of the top falling in (generally about twelve hours from the firſt potting of the hot ſugar) the plug is taken out, and the pot placed over a large jar, intended to receive the ſyrup or melaſſes that drains from it. In this ſtate it is left as long as the me-

* The curing-houſe ſhould be cloſe and warm—as warmth contributes to free the ſugar from the melaſſes.

BOOK V.

laſſes continues to drop, which it will do from twelve to twenty-four hours, when a ſtratum of clay is ſpread on the ſugar, and moiſtened with water, which oozing imperceptibly through the pores of the clay, unites intimately with, and dilutes the melaſſes, conſequently more of it comes away than from ſugar cured in the hogſhead, and the ſugar, of courſe, becomes ſo much the whiter and purer. The proceſs, according to Sloane, was firſt diſcovered in Braſil, by accident; "a "hen," ſays he, "having her feet dirty, going "over a pot of ſugar, it was found under her "tread to be whiter than elſewhere." The reaſon aſſigned why this proceſs is not univerſally adopted in the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, is this, that the water which dilutes and carries away the melaſſes, diſſolves and carries with it ſo much of the ſugar, that the difference in quality does not pay for the difference in quantity. The French planters probably think otherwiſe, upwards of four hundred of the plantations of St. Domingo having the neceſſary apparatus for claying, and actually carrying on the ſyſtem.

OF RUM.

Having now furniſhed the reader with the beſt account I am able to give of the art of making ſugar from the cane-juice, I ſhall proceed to a ſubſequent proceſs, to which this invaluable plant hath given birth; I mean that of extracting from it, by fermentation and diſtillation, one of the pureſt, moſt fragrant, and ſalutary ſpirits in the world; a proceſs of far greater curioſity than the former, and of almoſt equal importance in point of value, conſidering that the ſpirit procured

cured by its means, is obtained from the very dregs and feculencies of the plant. CHAP. II.

The ſtill-houſes on the ſugar-plantations in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, vary greatly in point of ſize and expence, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or the magnitude of the property. In general, however, they are built in a ſubſtantial manner of ſtone, and are commonly equal in extent to both the boiling and curing-houſes together. Large ſtills, by which I mean ſuch as contain from one to three thouſand gallons of liquor, have this advantage over ſmall ones; that they are purchaſed at firſt at a leſs proportionate expence. A ſtill of two thouſand gallons, with freight and charges, will coſt but little more than one of one thouſand five hundred gallons, and is beſides worked with but little more fuel. But as it is not every proprietor that has the means of employing ſtills of that magnitude, I ſhall conſider ſuch as are fitting for a plantation making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen hundred weight, and proceed to deſcribe, according to the beſt of my obſervation and experience, the mode of conducting ſuch an apparatus on ſuch a property, in making rum to the greateſt advantage.

For a plantation of that deſcription, I conceive that two copper ſtills, the one of one thouſand two hundred, and the other of ſix hundred gallons, wine meaſure, with proportionate pewter worms, are ſufficient. The ſize of the tank (or tubs) for containing the cold water in which the worms are immerſed, muſt depend on circumſtances: if the advantage can be obtained of a running ſtream, the water may be kept abundantly cool in a veſſel barely large enough to contain the

BOOK V.

the worm. If the plantation has no other dependence than that of pond-water, a ſtone tank is infinitely ſuperior to a tub, as being longer in heating, and if it can be made to contain from twenty to thirty thouſand gallons, the worms of both the ſtills may be placed in the ſame body of water, and kept cool enough for condenſing the ſpirit, by occaſional ſupplies of freſh water.

For working theſe ſtills and worms, it is neceſſary to provide, firſt, a dunder-ciſtern, of at leaſt three thouſand gallons; ſecondly, a ciſtern for the ſcummings; laſtly, twelve fermenting vats or ciſterns, each of them of the contents of the largeſt ſtill, viz. one thouſand two hundred gallons. In Jamaica, ciſterns are made of plank, fixed in clay; and are univerſally preferred to vats, or moveable veſſels, for the purpoſe of fermenting. They are not ſo eaſily affected by the changes of the weather, nor ſo liable to leak as vats, and they laſt much longer. But in the Britiſh diſtilleries, fermenting-ciſterns are, I believe, unknown. To compleat the apparatus, it is neceſſary to add two or more copper pumps for conveying the liquor from the ciſterns, and pumping up the dunder, and alſo butts or other veſſels for ſecuring the ſpirit when obtained; and it is uſual to build a rum-ſtore adjoining the ſtill-houſe.

The ingredients or materials that ſet the various apparatus I have deſcribed into action, conſiſt of,

1ſt. Melaſſes, or treacle drained from the ſugar, as already deſcribed.

2dly. Scummings of the hot cane-juice, from the boiling-houſe, or ſometimes raw-cane liquor, from canes expreſſed for the purpoſe.

3dly.

3dly. Lees, or, as it is called in Jamaica, *dunder* *.

4thly. Water.

The uſe of dunder in the making of rum, anſwers the purpoſe of yeaſt in the fermentation of flour. It is the lees or feculencies of former diſtillations; and ſome few planters preſerve it for uſe, from one crop to another; but this is a bad practice. Some fermented liquor therefore, compoſed of ſweets and water alone, ought to be diſtilled in the firſt inſtance, that freſh dunder may be obtained. It is a diſſolvent menſtruum, and certainly occaſions the ſweets with which it is combined, whether melaſſes or ſcummings, to yield a far greater proportion of ſpirit than can be obtained without its aſſiſtance. The water which is added, acts in ſome degree in the ſame manner by dilution.

In the Windward Iſlands the proceſs, according to Colonel Martin, is conducted as follows:

Scummings, one-third.
Lees, or dunder, one-third.
Water, one-third.

When theſe ingredients are well mixed in the fermenting ciſterns, and are pretty cool, the fermentation will riſe in twenty-four hours, to a proper height for admitting the firſt charge of melaſſes, of which ſix gallons † for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor, is the general proportion to be given at twice, *viz.* 3 per cent. at the firſt charge, and the other 3 per cent. a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is in a

* From *redundar*, Spaniſh—the ſame as *redundans* in Latin.

† This quantity of melaſſes, added to a third of ſcummings, gives 11½ per cent. of ſweets, ſix gallons of ſcummings being reckoned equal to one gallon of melaſſes.

high

BOOK V.

high ſtate of fermentation; the heat of which, however, ſhould not in general be ſuffered to exceed from ninety to ninety-four degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer †.

When the fermentation falls by eaſy degrees from the fifth to the ſeventh or eighth day §, ſo as then to grow fine, and throw up ſlowly a few clear beads or air globules, it is ripe for diſtillation; and the liquor or waſh being conveyed into the largeſt ſtill, which muſt not be filled higher than within eight or ten inches of the brim, leſt the head ſhould fly, a ſteady and regular fire muſt be kept up until it boils, after which a little fuel will ſerve. In about two hours the vapour or ſpirit being condenſed by the ambient fluid, will force its way through the worm in the ſhape of a ſtream, as clear and tranſparent as cryſtal; and it is ſuffered to run until it is no longer inflammable.

The ſpirit which is thus obtained goes by the appellation of *low-wines*. To make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it undergoes a ſecond diſtillation, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak; but previouſly thereto, I ſhall point out ſome little variation between the practice of the Jamaica diſtillers and thoſe of the Windward Iſlands, obſervable in the firſt proceſs. This conſiſts chiefly in a more copious uſe of dunder ‖. The following being a very

† The infuſion of hot water will raiſe, and of cold water abate the fermentation.

§ When the liquor is firſt ſet at the beginning of the crop (the houſe being cold, and the ciſterns not ſaturated) it will not be fit for diſtillation under ten or twelve days.

‖ As the uſe of dunder is to diſſolve the tenacity of the ſaccharine matter, it ſhould be proportioned not only to the *quantity*, but alſo to the *nature* of the ſweets. Thus, when the ſweets in the fermenting ciſtern conſiſt of melaſſes alone,

as

very general, and, I believe, an improved method, in Jamaica, of compounding the ſeveral ingredients, *viz.* CHAP. II.

Dunder

as generally happens after the buſineſs of ſugar-boiling is finiſhed, when no ſcummings are to be had, a greater proportion of dunder is neceſſary; becauſe melaſſes is a body of greater tenacity than cane-liquor, and is rendered ſo viſcous and indurated by the action of the fire, as to be unfit for fermentation without the moſt powerful ſaline and acid ſtimulators. For the ſame reaſon, at the beginning of the crop, when no melaſſes is to be had, and the ſweets conſiſt of cane-juice or ſcummings alone, very little dunder is neceſſary. In ſuch caſe I ſhould not recommend above 20 per cent. at the utmoſt. Dunder, in a large quantity, certainly injures the *flavour*, although it may encreaſe the *quantity* of the ſpirit. We are informed by Dr. Shaw, that the diſtillers in England add many things to the fermenting liquor, or waſh, in order to augment the vinoſity of the ſpirit, or give it a particular flavour. He obſerves, that a little tartar, nitre, or common ſalt, is ſometimes thrown in at the beginning of the operation, or in their ſtead a little of the vegetable or finer mineral acid. Theſe are thought to be of great uſe in the fermenting of ſolutions of treacle, honey, and the like ſweet and rich vegetable juices, which contain a ſmall proportion of acid. It would ſeem, by a note in Dr. Grainger's Poem called the *Sugar Cane*, that a ſimilar practice prevails among the diſtillers in St. Chriſtopher's; for the author relates, that an addition of ſea-water to the fermenting liquor (in what proportion he does not ſay) is a real and great improvement. Shaw recommends the juice of Seville oranges, lemons, and tamarinds, or other very acid fruits, and, above all other things, an aqueous ſolution of tartar; but I conceive that dunder alone anſwers every purpoſe. He likewiſe recommends to the diſtiller to introduce into the fermenting ciſtern a few gallons of the rectified ſpirit, which he ſays will come back, with a large addition to the quantity of ſpirit that would otherwiſe have ariſen from the diſtillation.—As I have tried none of theſe experiments, I can ſay nothing in their favour of my own knowledge; but I believe that a ſmall quantity of vegetable aſhes, thrown into the rum-ſtill, will be found ſerviceable. The alkaline ſalts are ſuppoſed to attenuate the ſpirit and keep back the groſs and fetid oil, which the

BOOK V.

Under one half, or			50 gallons	
Sweets 12 per cent.	Melaſſes	6 gallons		
	Scummings	36 gallons		
		(equal to 6 gallons more of melaſſes)		42 gallons
Water			8 gallons	
			100 gallons.	

Of this mixture (or *waſh*, as it is ſometimes called) one thouſand two hundred gallons ought to produce three hundred gallons of low-wines; and the ſtill may be twice charged and drawn off in one day. The method of adding all the melaſſes at once, which is done ſoon after the fermentation commences, renders the proceſs ſafe and expeditious; whereas by charging the melaſſes at different times, the fermentation is checked, and the proceſs delayed.

Let us now compleat the proceſs according to the Jamaica method. The low-wines obtained as above, are drawn off into a butt or veſſel, and, as opportunity ſerves, are conveyed into the ſecond ſtill of ſix hundred gallons, to undergo a further diſtillation. The ſtream begins to run in about one hour and a half, and will give, in the courſe of the day, two hundred and twenty

the diſtillers call the *faints*; but if uſed in too great a quantity, they may keep back alſo a proportion of the fine eſſential oil, on which the flavour of the rum wholly depends. Perhaps the moſt important object of attention, in the making rum of a good flavour, is *cleanlineſs*; for all adventitious or foreign ſubſtances deſtroy or change the peculiar flavour of the ſpirit. In truth, it ſhould be a conſtant rule with the manager or diſtiller to ſee that the ciſterns are ſcalded, and even cleanſed with ſtrong lime-water, each time they are uſed; not merely on account of the rum, but alſo becauſe it has frequently happened that the vapour of a foul ciſtern has inſtantly killed the firſt perſon that has entered it without due precaution.

gallons,

gallons, or two puncheons, of oil-proof rum, i. e. of ſpirit in which olive oil will ſink; and thus the manufacture, if it may be ſo called, is complete. There will remain in the ſtill a conſiderable quantity of weaker ſpirit, commonly about ſeventy gallons, which is returned to the low-wine butt. Thus two hundred and twenty gallons of proof rum are, in fact, made from five hundred and thirty gallons of low-wines; or about one hundred and thirteen of rum from one thouſand two hundred of waſh. CHAP. II.

By means of the apparatus and proceſs which I have thus deſcribed, the Jamaica diſtiller may fill weekly, working only by day-light (a neceſſary precaution in this employment) and at a ſmall expence of labour and fuel, twelve puncheons of rum, containing each one hundred and ten gallons of the Jamaica ſtandard. The proportion of the whole rum to the crop of ſugar, is commonly eſtimated in Jamaica as three to four. Thus a plantation of the above deſcription is ſuppoſed to ſupply annually one hundred and fifty puncheons of rum, of one hundred and ten gallons each; or eighty-two gallons of Jamaica proof to each hogſhead of ſugar;—and this return, I do believe, is ſometimes fairly made from canes planted in rich and moiſt lands; but on a general eſtimate, I think it too great an allowance, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogſheads of ſugar, which is in the proportion of about two-thirds rum to the crop of ſugar, is nearer the truth *.

The

* This will be better underſtood by attending to the following particulars:—The general ſupply of ſcummings to the ſtill-houſe is ſeven gallons out of every 100 gallons of cane-liquor. Suppoſing, therefore, that 2,000 gallons of cane-

BOOK V.

The reader will pleaſe to recollect, that in this, and the preceding chapter, the obſervations which I have made, both concerning the cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the field, and the ſubſequent proceſſes of the boiling-houſe and diſtillery, have been drawn chiefly from the practice of Jamaica. Some ſelection was neceſſary, and I could refer to no mode of conducting a ſugar plantation, with ſuch propriety as to that with which I am myſelf practically acquainted.—My next enquiries will relate to the particulars of the firſt coſt of this ſpecies of property, to the cur-

cane-juice is required for each hogſhead of ſugar of 16 cwt. the ſcummings, on a plantation making 200 hogſheads per annum, will be 28,000 gallons,

equal to — —		4,666 gallons of melaſſes.
Add the melaſſes from the curing-houſe, which, if the ſugar is of a good quality, will ſeldom exceed ſixty gallons per hogſhead -	}	12,000
Total of ſweets -		16,666 gallons.

This, diſtilled at and after the rate of 12 per cent. ſweets in the fermenting ciſtern, will give 34,720 gallons of low-wines, which ought to produce 14,412 gallons of good proof rum, or 131 puncheons of 110 gallons each. When a greater proportion than this is made, one or other of theſe circumſtances muſt exiſt, either the ſugar diſcharges an unuſual quantity of melaſſes, or the boiling-houſe is defrauded of the cane-liquor by improper ſcumming. This latter circumſtance frequently happens.

It ſhould alſo be obſerved, that it is the practice of late with many planters, to raiſe the proof of rum; thus gaining in ſtrength of ſpirit, what is loſt in quantity: and there are managers who make it a rule to return the ſcummings to the clarifiers, inſtead of ſending them to the ſtill-houſe. This laſt-mentioned practice reduces the crop of rum more than one-third; but is ſuppoſed to yield in ſugar more than is loſt in rum; and if the price of ſugar is very high, and that of rum very low, it may be prudent to adopt this method.

rent

rent expences attending it, and to the returns which may be reaſonably expected from a capital thus employed; and here again my eſtimates will refer chiefly to Jamaica. That there is a conſiderable variation in ſome of the Windward Iſlands, I have no doubt. In St. Chriſtopher's, for inſtance, ſome of the lands are certainly more valuable than the very beſt in Jamaica; but, on the other hand, Jamaica is exempted from the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* and has other advantages, which probably make the ſcale even.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Capital neceſſary in the ſettlement or purchaſe of a ſugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and ſtock ſeparately conſidered.—Particulars and coſt.—Groſs returns from the property.—Annual diſburſements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Differences, not commonly attended to, in the mode of eſtimating the profits of an Engliſh eſtate, and one in the Weſt Indies.—Inſurance of Weſt India eſtates in time of war, and other occaſional deductions.—The queſtion, why the cultivation of the Sugar Iſlands has encreaſed, under ſo many diſcouragements, conſidered and diſcuſſed.

BOOK V.

A SUGAR plantation conſiſts of three great parts; the Lands, the Buildings and the Stock: but before I proceed to diſcriminate their relative proportions and value, it may be proper to obſerve, that the buſineſs of ſugar planting is a ſort of adventure in which the man that engages, muſt engage deeply.—There is no medium, and very ſeldom the poſſibility of retreat. A Britiſh country gentleman, who is content to jog on without riſque on the moderate profits of his own moderate farm, will ſtartle to hear that it requires a capital of no leſs than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling to embark in this employment with a fair proſpect of advantage. To elucidate this

this poſition, it muſt be underſtood that the annual contingencies of a ſmall or moderate plantation, are very nearly equal to thoſe of an eſtate of three times the magnitude. A property, for inſtance, producing annually one hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. has occaſion for ſimilar white ſervants, and for buildings and utenſils of nearly the ſame extent and number as a plantation yielding from two to three hundred ſuch hogſheads, with rum in proportion. In ſpeaking of capital, I mean either money, or a ſolid well-eſtabliſhed credit; for there is this eſſential difference attending loans obtained on landed eſtates in Great Britain, and thoſe which are advanced on the credit of Weſt Indian plantations, that an Engliſh mortgage is a marketable ſecurity, which a Weſt Indian mortgage is not. In England, if a mortgagee calls for his money, other perſons are ready to advance it: now this ſeldom happens in regard to property in the Weſt Indies. The credit obtained by the ſugar planter is commonly given by men in trade, on the proſpect of ſpeedy returns and conſiderable advantage; but as men in trade ſeldom find it convenient to place their money out of their reach for any length of time, the credit which they give is oftentimes ſuddenly withdrawn, and the ill-fated planter compelled, on this account, to ſell his property at much leſs than half its firſt coſt. The credit therefore of which I ſpeak, conſidered as a capital, muſt not only be extenſive, but permanent.

Having premiſed thus much, the application of which will hereafter be ſeen, I ſhall employ my preſent enquiries in aſcertaining the fair and well-eſtabliſhed prices at which a ſugar eſtate may at this time be purchaſed or created, and the profits

BOOK V.

profits which may honeſtly and reaſonably be expected from a given capital ſo employed; founding my eſtimate on a plantation producing, one year with another, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar of ſixteen cwt. and one hundred and thirty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each: an eſtate of leſs magnitude, I conceive, for the reaſons before given, to be comparatively a loſing concern. Afterwards I ſhall endeavour to account for the eagerneſs which has been ſhewn by many perſons to adventure in this line of cultivation.—I begin then with the

LANDS.

On a ſurvey of the general run of the ſugar eſtates in Jamaica, it is found that the land in canes commonly conſtitutes one-third of the plantation; another third is appropriated to paſturage and the cultivation of proviſions, ſuch as plantains (a hearty and wholeſome food) cocoes, or eddoes, yams, potatoes, caſſada, corn, and other vegetable eſculents peculiar to the country and climate; and which, with ſalted fiſh, ſupplied the negroes weekly, and ſmall ſtock, as pigs and poultry, of their own raiſing, make their chief ſupport, and in general it is ample. The remaining third is reſerved in native woods, for the purpoſe of furniſhing timbers for repairing the various buildings, and ſupplying fire-wood for the boiling and diſtilling houſes, in addition to the cane traſh, and for burning lime and bricks.—As therefore a plantation yielding, *on an average*, two hundred hogſheads of ſugar annually, requires, as I conceive, not leſs than three hundred acres to be planted in canes, the whole

whole extent of ſuch a property muſt be reckoned at nine hundred acres. I am perſuaded that the ſugar plantations in Jamaica making thoſe returns, commonly exceed, rather than fall ſhort of, this eſtimate; not, as hath been ignorantly aſſerted, from a fond and avaricious propenſity in the proprietors to engroſs more land than is neceſſary; but becauſe, from the nature of the ſoil, and rugged ſurface of the country, the lands vary greatly in quality, and it is ſeldom that even three hundred acres of ſoil in contiguity, fit for the production of ſugar, can be procured. A purchaſer therefore muſt take the bad with the good. Nevertheleſs, as it is my intention to give as preciſe an idea as I can of the profits to be made in the ſugar-planting buſineſs, *under the moſt favourable circumſtances*, I will allow nothing for a dead capital veſted in unproductive woodland, but fix on ſix hundred acres, as ſufficient for all the purpoſes that have been mentioned; appropriating one half of the whole, inſtead of one third, to the culture of the cane. CHAP. III.

The price of woodland in Jamaica depends chiefly on its ſituation. In ſeaſonable parts of the country, and in the vicinity of the ſea, I conceive it would be difficult to purchaſe a quantity of a ſugar land ſufficient for a good eſtate, unleſs at a very high price. On the north ſide, in a fertile and ſeaſonable pariſh, I have lately known a tract of eight hundred acres, with a fine river running through it, ſell for ten pounds currency per acre, but it was at the diſtance of ten miles from the ſea; and the purchaſer had a new and difficult road to make for three miles of the way. Such another territory, without the inconveniencies to which this was ſubject, would, as lands ſell in Jamaica, be well worth, and eaſily obtain,

BOOK V. fourteen pounds currency, or ten pounds ſterling per acre. Six hundred acres at this price is £.8,400 currency. The coſt of clearing one half, and planting it in canes, including four clearings, would be £.12 currency per acre, or £.3,600. Clearing and planting 100 acres in proviſions, would be £.7 an acre, or £.700; the ſame for clearing and planting 100 acres in Guiney graſs. Incloſing and fencing the whole would coſt, on a moderate eſtimate, £.700 more.—Total £.14,100 currency, being equal to £.10,071 ſterling.

BUILDINGS.

The buildings which will be found neceſſary, on a plantation of the magnitude deſcribed, are

	Jamaica Currency.
1ſt. A water-mill, (if water can be obtained) the coſt of which, conſidering that a great extent of ſtone guttering is commonly requiſite, may be ſtated, on a very low eſtimate, at £.1,000 ſterling. In caſe no water-mill can be erected, I do not conceive that a ſingle mill, whether worked by cattle, mules, or wind, is ſufficient to take off the crop in due time, a moſt important object, on which the future ſucceſs of the plantation depends. I allow therefore for a wind-mill and one cattle-mill, or for two cattle-mills without a wind-mill, a ſum equal to the coſt of a water-mill, or	1,400
2d. A boiling-houſe, 45 by 22 feet, to contain 3 copper clarifiers, of 350 gallons each, and 4 other pans or boilers, including the coſt of the ſame, and other utenſils — —	1,000

3d. A

Jamaica Currency. CHAP. III.

3d. A curing-houſe, adjoining to the boiling-houſe, calculated to hold one half the crop, with ſtrong joiſts of ſolid timbers inſtead of a floor, having a terraſſed or boarded platform underneath, leading to a melaſſes ciſtern, lined with terras, ſufficient to contain 6000 gallons — — — 800

4th. A diſtilling-houſe, 70 feet by 30; the diſtillery part to contain 2 ſtills of 1200 and 600 gallons, with worms proportionate: alſo a ſtone tank or ciſtern, to hold 30,000 gallons of water; the fermenting part to contain two, or more, vats, or ciſterns, for the dunder and ſkimmings: alſo 12 ciſterns of ſolid plank fixed in the earth, of 1200 gallons each, with copper pumps, and other neceſſary apparatus: together alſo with a rum ſtore under the ſame roof 1,600

5th. A dwelling-houſe for the overſeer 600

6th. Two traſh-houſes, each 120 feet by 30; the foundation ſtone, the ſides open, the roof ſupported by ſtone pillars, and covered by ſhingles, £.300 each — — — 600

7th. A hoſpital for the ſick negroes, containing alſo a room for lying-in women, a room for confining diſorderly negroes, a ſhop for the doctor, and one or more ſtore rooms for ſecuring the plantation utenſils and proviſions — — 300

8th. A mule ſtable, for 60 mules, with a corn-loft above — — — 150

9th. Shops for the different tradeſmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, wheelwright and ſmith — — 150

BOOK V.

	Jamaica Currency.
10th. Sheds for the waggons, wains, carts, &c. — — —	50
Add extra expences, ſuch as the coſt of the wains, utenſils for the ſmith's ſhop, houſehold furniture, &c. &c. — —	350
The total is £.5,000 ſterling, being equal to — Currency	7,000

STOCK.

The ſtock on a plantation of the magnitude deſcribed, cannot prudently conſiſt of leſs than two hundred and fifty negroes, eighty ſteers, and ſixty mules. It is not ſufficient to object that two hundred hogſheads of ſugar have been produced by the labour of a leſs number of negroes than is here allowed. I am treating of an eſtate which produces that quantity *on a medium*; conſequently, as, from droughts and unfavourable ſeaſons, the crops will ſometimes fall ſhort of, at other times they muſt greatly exceed the number preſcribed; and under theſe circumſtances, I do not believe a plantation will eaſily be named that poſſeſſes *(or employs, in job work and otherwiſe)* a leſs number of negroes annually. If ſuch an eſtate there is, I heſitate not to pronounce that it is in improvident hands; for what management can be worſe than that which, by over-working the negroes, ſacrifices the capital for the ſake of a temporary augmented income? —The coſt of the ſtock, therefore, may be ſtated as follows:

250 Ne-

	Jamaica Currency.
250 Negroes, at £.70 each, —	17,500
80 Steers, at £.15 — —	1,200
60 Mules, at £.28 —	1,680
Total in currency (equal to £.14,557 ſterling) — —	£.20,380

Let us now bring the whole into one point of view.

	Jamaica. Currency.
LANDS, — —	14,100
BUILDINGS, — —	7,000
STOCK, — —	20,380
Total in currency, —	41,480

Which is only £.520 ſhort of £.42,000 Jamaica currency, or £.30,000 ſterling, the ſum firſt mentioned; and I am further of opinion, that if the owner of ſuch a property were to ſell it by appraiſement, the valuation would amount to nearly the ſum expended. It would be more adviſeable undoubtedly, to purchaſe a plantation ready ſettled, rather than attempt to create a new one from uncleared lands; inaſmuch as the labour and riſque of the undertaking would be thereby avoided;—but, however this may be, it muſt be conſidered as a fixed and well-eſtabliſhed fact, that a ſugar plantation of the extent and returns which have been ſuppoſed, whether acquired by purchaſe, or by the riſque and labour of clearing the lands, will unavoidably coſt (the neceſſary buildings and ſtock included) £.30,000 ſterling,

BOOK V.

ſterling, before any adequate intereſt can be received from the capital.

The produce of ſuch a plantation has been ſtated at 200 hogſheads of ſugar, of 16 cwt. and 130 puncheons of rum, of 110 gallons, *communibus annis;* the value of which, according to the average prices at the London market for ten years previous to 1791, may be reckoned as follows:

	Sterling.
200 Hogſheads of ſugar, at £.15 ſterling per hogſhead — —	3,000
130 Puncheons of rum, at £.10 ſterling per puncheon — —	1,300
	£.4,300

But the reader is not to imagine that all this, or even the ſugar alone, is ſo much clear profit. The annual diſburſements are firſt to be deducted, and very heavy they are; nor is any opinion more erroneous than that which ſuppoſes they are provided for by the rum. If ſuch indeed were the fact, the capital would yield preciſely an annual intereſt of ten *per cent.:* but a reference to the ſeveral items, which I have particularized in a note †, will demonſtrate the fallacy of

† ANNUAL SUPPLIES from GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.

1ſt. NEGRO CLOTHING; viz.

1,500 Yards of Oznaburgh cloth, or German linen.
650 Yards of blue bays, or penniſtones, for a warm frock for each negro.
350 Yards of ſtriped linſeys for the women.
250 Yards of coarſe check for ſhirts for the boilers, tradeſmen, domeſtics, and children.

3 Dozen

of this too common mode of calculation. They amount, at a very moderate eſtimate, (including CHAP. III.

3 Dozen of coarſe blankets for lying-in women, and ſick negroes.
18 Dozen of coarſe hats.

2d. Tools,

For the carpenters and coopers, to the amount of £.25 ſterling, including 2 or 3 dozen of falling axes.

3d. Miscellaneous Articles.

160,000 Nails of different ſizes.
2,500 Puncheon rivets.
6 Cattle chains.
6 Dozen of hoes.
6 Dozen of bills.
20 Dozen of ſmall claſp knives for the negroes.
4 Dozen of ox bows.
50 Bundles of iron hoops.
2 Sets of puncheon truſs hoops.
2 Sets of hogſhead ditto.
80 Gallons of train oil for lamps.
2 Barrels of tar.
2 Boxes of ſhort tobacco pipes for the negroes.
180 Bundles of wood hoops.
2 Sheets of lead.
6 Large copper ladles } for the boilers.
6 Ditto ſkimmers }
8 Dozen of ſmall iron pots for the negroes.
2 Puncheons of Briſtol lime for temper.
4 Grindſtones.

Provisions, &c. chiefly from Ireland.

80 Barrels of herrings, or ſalted cod equal thereto.
6 Barrels of ſalted beef.
2 Barrels of ſalted pork.
4 Firkins of ſalted butter.
2 Boxes of ſoap.
2 Boxes of candles.
2 Hogſheads of ſalt.
6 Barrels of flour.
6 Kegs of peaſe.
3 Jugs of groats.

freight,

BOOK V. freight, charges and merchants commiſſions, and adding a proportional part of the coſt of many expenſive articles, ſuch as coppers, ſtills, waintyre, grating-bars, &c. which would perhaps be wanted once in five years) to the ſum of £.850 ſterling. To this ſum are to be added the following very heavy

CHARGES *within the Iſland;* viz.

	Currency.
Overſeer's or manager's ſalary —	200
Diſtiller's ditto — —	70
Two other white ſervants, £.60 each	120
A white carpenter's wages — —	100
Maintenance of five white ſervants, excluſive of their allowance of ſalted proviſions, £.40 each —	200
Medical care of the negroes, (at 6*s.* *per annum* for each negro) and *extra* caſes, which are paid for ſeparately — —	100
Millwright's, copperſmith's, plumber's, and ſmith's bills, annually	250
Colonial taxes, public and parochial	200
Annual ſupply of mules and ſteers	300
Wharfage and ſtorage of goods landed and ſhipped — —	100
American ſtaves and heading, for hogſheads and puncheons, —	150
A variety of ſmall occaſional ſupplies of different kinds, ſuppoſed —	50
Equal to £.1,300 ſterling; being in currency — —	£. 1,840

The

The total amount, therefore, of the annual contingent charges of all kinds, is £.2,150 ſterling, which is preciſely one half the groſs returns; leaving the other moiety, or £.2,150 ſterling, and no more, clear profit to the planter, being ſeven *per cent.* on his capital, and £.50 over, without charging, however, a ſhilling for making good the decreaſe of the negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, and ſuppoſing too, that the proprietor reſides on the ſpot; for if he is abſent, he is ſubject, in Jamaica, to an annual tax of ſix pounds *per cent.* on the groſs value of his ſugar and rum, for legal commiſſions to his agent.—With theſe, and other drawbacks (to ſay nothing of the devaſtations which are ſometimes occaſioned by fires and hurricanes, deſtroying in a few hours the labour of years) it is not wonderful that the profits ſhould frequently dwindle to nothing; or rather, that a ſugar eſtate, with all its boaſted advantages, ſhould ſometimes prove a millſtone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to deſtruction *!

CHAP. III.

Admitting even that his prudence, or good fortune, may be ſuch as to exempt him from moſt of the loſſes and calamities that have been enumerated, it muſt nevertheleſs be remembered, that

* In Jamaica, the uſual mode of calculating, in a general way, the average profits of a ſugar eſtate, is to allow £.10 ſterling per annum for every negro, young and old, employed in this line of cultivation; according to which, Mr. Beckford's income, ariſing from 2,533 negroes, ought to be £.25,330 ſterling. I doubt, however, as he does not reſide in the iſland, if he has received, on an average of ten years together, any thing near that ſum; but even this is but 6½ per cent. on his capital, which is £,380,000; negroes being one-third of the property, and are uſually valued at £.50 ſterling round.

the

BOOK V.

the ſugar planter is at once both landlord and tenant on his property. In contraſting the profits of a Weſt Indian plantation with thoſe of a landed eſtate in Great Britain, this circumſtance is commonly overlooked; yet nothing is more certain than that an Engliſh proprietor, in ſtating the income which he receives from his capital, includes not in his eſtimate the profits made by his tenants. Theſe conſtitute a diſtinct object, and are uſually reckoned equal to the clear annual rent which is paid to the proprietor. Thus a farm in England, producing an income of $3\frac{1}{2}$ *per cent.* to the owner, is in fact proportionably equal to a ſugar plantation yielding double the profit to the planter; and poſſeſſes beſides, all that ſtability, certainty, and ſecurity, the want of which is the great drawback on the latter. An Engliſh gentleman, when either extreme of dry or wet weather injures the crop on his lands, has no other concern in the calamity than ſuch as the mere feelings of humanity may dictate, and it is but juſtice to him to ſay, that, ſo long as the ſtock of his tenant is found a ſufficient ſecurity for his rent, he commonly diſplays the moſt perfect philoſophy and compoſure under the poor tenant's misfortunes. Nor is he under the diſagreeable neceſſity in time of war, of paying large premiums for inſuring his eſtate from capture by a foreign enemy.—This is another tax, which the unfortunate Weſt Indian, reſident in Great Britain, muſt add to his expences; or ſubmit to the diſagreeable alternative of paſſing many an uneaſy day and ſleepleſs night, in dreadful anxiety for the fate of his poſſeſſions, and the future ſubſiſtence of his family;—harraſſed, perhaps, at the ſame time, by creditors whoſe importunity increaſes as their ſecurity becomes endangered.

To

To this account of the taxes, contingencies, and impoſitions laid on the ſugar planter, muſt likewiſe be added *ſome part*, *at leaſt*, of the high duties on his produce, which ſwell the revenues of Great Britain. The general opinion, I well know, conſiders it as a certain and eſtabliſhed fact, that *all* theſe duties fall ultimately on the conſumer. I ſhall hereafter point out, and I truſt with ſuch preciſion and certainty as will admit of no diſpute, in what caſes they fall on the conſumer, and in what caſes on the planter. No queſtion has, I think, been more ſtrangely miſunderſtood than this, and yet none, in my opinion, is ſuſceptive of clearer illuſtration; but as the conſideration of this matter belongs more properly to the commercial ſyſtem eſtabliſhed between Great Britain and her ſugar colonies, it is unneceſſary at this time to enter on the inveſtigation; my preſent intention being only to apprize the reader, that the duties payable in the mother country, on the produce of the Weſt Indies, are not wholly to be overlooked, in a fair eſtimate of the expences to which the planter is liable.

But there is a queſtion, naturally ariſing from the premiſes, to which it is proper that I ſhould, in this place, give an anſwer; and it is this: Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and conſidering withal, that the returns are in general but ſmall, and at beſt uncertain, how has it happened that the ſugar iſlands have been ſo rapidly ſettled, and many a great eſtate purchaſed in the mother country, from the profits that have accrued from their cultivation? It were to be wiſhed that thoſe who make ſuch enquiries would enquire, on the other hand, how many unhappy perſons have been totally and irretrievably ruined, by adventuring in the cultivation

BOOK V.

tion of theſe iſlands, without poſſeſſing any adequate means to ſupport them in ſuch great undertakings? On the failure of ſome of theſe unfortunate men, vaſt eſtates have indeed been raiſed by perſons who have had money at command: men there are who, reflecting on the advantages to be derived from this circumſtance, behold a ſugar planter ſtruggling in diſtreſs, with the ſame emotions as are felt by the Corniſh peaſants in contemplating a ſhipwreck on the coaſt, and haſten with equal rapaciouſneſs to participate in the ſpoil. Like them too, they ſometimes hold out falſe lights to lead the unwary adventurer to deſtruction; more eſpecially if he has any thing conſiderable of his own to ſet out with. Money is advanced, and encouragement given, to a certain point; but a ſkilful practitioner well knows where to ſtop: he is aware what very large ſums muſt be expended in the purchaſe of the freehold, and in the firſt operations of clearing and planting the lands, and erecting the buildings, before any return can be made. One-third of the money thus expended, he has perhaps furniſhed; but the time ſoon arrives when a further advance is requiſite to give life and activity to the ſyſtem, by the addition of the negroes and the ſtock. Now then is the moment for oppreſſion, aided by the letter of the law, and the proceſs of office, to reap a golden harveſt. If the property anſwers expectation, and the lands promiſe great returns, the ſagacious creditor, inſtead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the beſt of his way by his own exertions, pleads a ſudden and unexpected emergency; and inſiſts on immediate re-payment of the ſum already lent. The law, on this occaſion, is far from being chargeable with delay; and avarice is inexorable.

A ſale

A ſale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but the creditor himſelf. Ready money is required in payment, and every one ſees that a further ſum will be wanting to make the eſtate productive. Few therefore have the means, who have even the wiſh, efficaciouſly to aſſiſt the devoted victim.— Thus, the creditor gets the eſtate at his own price, commonly for his firſt advance, while the miſerable debtor has reaſon to thank his ſtars if, conſoling himſelf with only the loſs of his own original capital, and his labour for a ſeries of years, he eſcapes a priſon for life. CHAP. III.

That this is no creation of the fancy, nor even an exaggerated picture, the records of the courts of law, in all or moſt of our iſlands (Jamaica eſpecially) and the recollection of every inhabitant, furniſh inconteſtable proof. At the ſame time it cannot juſtly be denied that there are creditors, eſpecially among the Britiſh merchants, of a very different character from thoſe that have been deſcribed, who, having advanced their money to reſident planters, not in the view of deriving undue advantages from their labours and neceſſities, but ſolely on the fair and honourable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much againſt their inclination, to become planters themſelves; being obliged to receive unprofitable Weſt Indian eſtates in payment, or loſe their money altogether. I have known plantations tranſferred in this manner, which are a burthen inſtead of a benefit to the holder; and are kept up ſolely in the hope that favourable crops, and an advance in the prices of Weſt Indian produce, may, ſome time or other, invite purchaſers.— Thus oppreſſion in one claſs of creditors, and groſs injuſtice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country, where, if the riſques

BOOK V.

riſques and loſſes are great, the gains are ſometimes commenſurate; for ſugar eſtates there are, undoubtedly, from which, inſtead of the returns that I have eſtimated as the average intereſt on the capital, nearly double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true, that ſuch inſtances are extremely rare; but perhaps to that very circumſtance, which to a philoſopher, ſpeculating in his cloſet, would ſeem ſufficient to deter a wiſe man from adventuring in this line of cultivation, it is chiefly owing that ſo much money has been expended in it: I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of ſugar varies occaſionally to ſo great a degree as to create a difference in its marketable value of upwards of ten ſhillings ſterling in the hundred weight, the whole of which is clear profit, the duties and charges being preciſely the ſame on Muſcovado ſugar, of whatever quality. Thus fine ſugar has been known to yield a clear profit to the planter of no leſs than £.1,500 ſterling on 200 hogſheads of the uſual magnitude, beyond what the ſame number, where the commodity is inferior in quality, would have obtained at the ſame market. To aver that this difference is imputable wholly to ſoil and ſeaſons in the Weſt Indies, or to the ſtate of the Britiſh market, is to contradict common obſervation and experience. Much, undoubtedly, depends on ſkill in the manufacture; and, the proceſs being apparently ſimple, the beholder (from a propenſity natural to the buſy and inquiſitive part of mankind) feels an almoſt irreſiſtible propenſity to engage in it. In this, therefore, as in all other enterpriſes, whoſe ſucceſs depends in any degree on human ſagacity and prudence, though perhaps not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every ſanguine adventurer takes for granted that he ſhall

ſhall be that *one*. Thus his ſyſtem of life becomes a courſe of experiments, and, if ruin ſhould be the conſequence of his raſhneſs, he imputes his misfortunes to any cauſe, rather than to his own want of capacity or foreſight.

That the reaſons thus given, are the only ones that can be adduced in anſwer to the queſtion that has been ſtated, I preſume not to affirm. Other cauſes, of more powerful efficacy, may perhaps be aſſigned by men of wider views and better information. The facts however which I have detailed, are too ſtriking and notorious to be controverted or concealed.

Having now, I believe, ſufficiently treated of the growth, cultivation, and manufacture of ſugar, &c. and pointed out with a minuteneſs (tedious perhaps but) ſuited, as I conceive, to the importance of the ſubject, the firſt coſt, and current contingencies attending the eſtabliſhment and profitable maintenance of a ſugar plantation, together with the riſque and gains eventually ariſing from this ſpecies of property, I ſhall proceed, in the following chapter, to furniſh my readers with ſuch information as I have been able to collect concerning the minor ſtaples, eſpecially thoſe important ones of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger, which, with ſugar and rum, principally conſtitute the bulky freight that gives employment to an extent of ſhipping, nearly equal to the whole commercial tonnage of Great Britain at the beginning of the preſent century*.

* The following table of the prices of Muſcovado ſugar in the London market, at different periods, may be gratifying to curioſity, and of uſe in illuſtrating ſome of the preceding obſervations.

Years.		Loweſt Price. Shillings.		Higheſt. Shillings Sterling.
1760	from	32	to	47
1761	—	32	—	50

1762

BOOK V.

Years.		Lowest Price. Shillings.		Highest. Shillings Sterling.
1762	from	28	to	49
1763	—	25	—	37
1764	—	27	—	40
1765	—	32	—	44
1766	—	29	—	42
1767	—	33	—	42
1768	—	32	—	41
1769	—	33	—	42
1770	—	31	—	42
1771	—	32	—	44
1772	—	29	—	43
1773	—	28	—	45
1774	—	27	—	44
1775	—	25	—	39
1776	—	29	—	47
1777	—	39	—	65
1778	—	45	—	68
1779	—	50	—	59
1780	—	45	—	59
1781	—	56	—	73
1782	—	40	—	73
1783	—	28	—	45
1784	—	26	—	46
1785	—	35	—	45
1786	—	40	—	56
1787	—	41	—	52

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities; viz. COTTON, *its growth and various ſpecies.—Mode of cultivation and riſques attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.——*INDIGO, *its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the firſt Indigo planters in Jamaica, and reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that iſland.——*COFFEE, *whether that of the Weſt Indies equal to the* Mocha?—*Situation and ſoil.—Exorbitant duty to which it was ſubject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Eſtimate of the annual expences and returns of a Coffee plantation.——*CACAO, GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES *and* PIMENTO; *brief account of each.*

COTTON.

THAT beautiful vegetable wool, or ſubſtance called cotton, is the ſpontaneous production of three parts of the earth. It is found growing naturally in all the tropical regions of Aſia, Africa, and America; and may juſtly be comprehended among the moſt valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, ſuperintending and providing for the neceſſities of man. BOOK V.

The cotton-wool which is manufactured into cloth (for there is a ſpecies in the Weſt Indies, called ſilk or wild cotton, unfit for the loom) conſiſts of two diſtinct kinds, known to the

BOOK V. planters by the names of GREEN-SEED COTTON, and SHRUB COTTON; and theſe again have ſubordinate marks of difference, with which the cultivator ought to be well acquainted if he means to apply his labours to the greateſt advantage.

Green-ſeed cotton is of two ſpecies; of one of which the wool is ſo firmly attached to the ſeed, that no method has hitherto been found of ſeparating them, except by the hand; an operation ſo tedious and troubleſome, that the value of the commodity is not equal to the pains that are requiſite in preparing it for market. This ſort therefore is at preſent cultivated principally for ſupplying wick for the lamps that are uſed in ſugar-boiling and for domeſtic purpoſes; but the ſtaple being exceedingly good, and its colour perfectly white, it would doubtleſs be a valuable acquiſition to the muſlin manufactory, could means be found of detaching it eaſily from the ſeed.

The other ſort has larger ſeeds, of a duller green than the former, and the wool is not of equal fineneſs; though much finer than the cotton-wool in general cultivation; and it is eaſily ſeparated from the ſeed by the common method, hereafter to be deſcribed. I have been told that this ſpecies of the green-ſeed cotton is not ſufficiently known to the planters in general, (being uſually confounded with the former) or that probably it would be in high eſtimation.

Both the ſpecies above-mentioned, though they produce pods at an early ſtage, when they are mere ſhrubs, will, if ſuffered to ſpread, grow into trees of conſiderable magnitude, and yield annual crops, according to the ſeaſon, without any kind of cultivation. The bloſſoms put forth in

in ſucceſſion from October to January, and the pods begin to open fit for gathering from February to June. I come now to the

CHAP. IV.

Shrub Cotton, properly ſo called. The ſhrub itſelf very nearly reſembles an European Corinth buſh, and may be ſubdivided into ſeveral varieties, all of which however very nearly reſemble each other *. Theſe varieties (ſuch of them at leaſt as have come to my knowledge) are

1ſt, The *Common Jamaica;* the ſeeds of which are oblong, perfectly ſmooth, and have no beard at the ſmaller end. The ſtaple is coarſe, but ſtrong. Its greateſt defect is that the ſeeds are ſo brittle that it is ſcarce poſſible to render it perfectly clean; on which account it is the loweſt-priced cotton at the Britiſh market. Such however is the obſtinacy of habit, that few of the Britiſh cotton planters give themſelves the trouble to ſelect, or ſeem indeed to wiſh for a better ſort.

2d, *Brown Bearded.*—This is generally cultivated with the ſpecies laſt mentioned, but the ſtaple is ſomewhat finer, and the pods, though fewer in number, produce a greater quantity of wool. The ſhrub gives likewiſe a better ratoon. It is therefore the intereſt of the cotton planter to

* The flowers are compoſed of five large yellow leaves, each ſtained at the bottom with a purple ſpot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The piſtil is ſtrong and large, ſurrounded at and near the top with a yellow farinaceous duſt, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the piſtil. This is likewiſe ſurrounded, when the petals of the flowers drop, with a capſular pod, ſupported by three triangular green leaves deeply jagged at their ends. The incloſed pod opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, diſcovering the cotton in as many white locks as there are partitions in the pod. In theſe locks are interſperſed the ſeeds, which are commonly ſmall and black.

BOOK V.

cultivate it ſeparately. The only diſadvantage attending it is, that it is not ſo eaſily detached from the ſeed as the other, and therefore a negro will clear a few pounds leſs in his day's work.

3d, *Nankeen*.—This differs but little in the ſeeds or otherwiſe from the ſpecies laſt mentioned, except in the colour of the wool, which is that of the cloth called Nankeen. It is not ſo much in demand as the white.

4th, *French* or *Small-ſeed*, with a whitiſh beard. This is the cotton in general cultivation in Hiſpaniola. Its ſtaple is finer, and its produce equal to either of the three ſpecies laſt mentioned, as the ſhrub is ſuppoſed to bear a greater number of pods than the Jamaica, or the Brown Bearded, but is leſs hardy than either.

5th, *Kidney Cotton*, ſo called from the ſeeds being conglomerated or adhering firmly to each other in the pod. In all the other ſorts they are ſeparated. It is likewiſe called *Chain* Cotton, and, I believe, is the true Cotton of Braſil.—The ſtaple is good, the pod large, and the produce conſiderable. A ſingle negro may clear with eaſe ſixty-five pounds in a day, beſides which, it leaves the ſeeds behind unbroken, and comes perfectly clean from the rollers. It is therefore improvident, in the higheſt degree, to mix this ſpecies with any other.

On the whole, the moſt profitable ſorts for general cultivation ſeem to be, the ſecond of the Green-ſeed, the French or Small-ſeed, and the Braſilian. The mode of culture is the ſame with all the different ſpecies, and there is this advantage attending them all, that they will flouriſh in the drieſt and moſt rocky ſoils, *provided ſuch lands have not been exhauſted by former cultivation*. Dryneſs, both in reſpect of the ſoil and atmoſphere,

atmoſphere, is indeed eſſentially neceſſary in all its ſtages; for if the land is moiſt, the plant expends itſelf in branches and leaves, and if the rains are heavy, either when the plant is in bloſſom or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is loſt. Perhaps however theſe obſervations apply more immediately to the French cotton than to any other. CHAP. IV.

The plant is raiſed from the ſeed, the land requiring no other preparation than to be cleared of its native incumbrances; and the ſeaſon for putting the ſeed into the ground is from May to September, both months inclusive. This is uſually done in ranks or rows, leaving a ſpace between each, of ſix or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart.—It is the practice to put eight or ten of the ſeeds into each hole, becauſe ſome of them are commonly devoured by a grub or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young ſprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight, but they are of ſlow growth for the firſt ſix weeks, at which period it is neceſſary to clean the ground and draw out the ſupernumerary plants, leaving two or three only of the ſtrongeſt in each hole. One plant alone would be ſufficient to leave, if there was any certainty of its coming to maturity; but many of the tender ſprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a ſecond time; and both the ſtem and branches pruned, or, as it is called, *topp'd*; an inch (or more if the plants are luxuriant) being broke off from the end of each ſhoot; which is done in order to make the ſtems throw out a greater number of lateral branches. This operation, if the growth be over luxuriant, is ſometimes performed a ſecond, and even a third time.

At

BOOK V. At the end of five months, the plant begins to bloſſom and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more, the pod is formed. From the ſeventh to the tenth month the pods ripen in ſucceſſion; when they burſt open in three partitions, diſplaying their white and gloſſy down to the ſight. The wool is now gathered, the ſeeds being enveloped in it; from which it is afterwards extricated by a machine reſembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is compoſed of two ſmall rollers placed cloſe and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in oppoſite directions by different wheels, which are moved by the foot *. The cotton being put by the hand to theſe rollers as they move round, readily paſſes between them, leaving the ſeeds, which are too large for the interſpace, behind. The wool is afterwards hand picked, that it may be properly cleared of decayed leaves, broken ſeeds, and wool which has been ſtained and damaged in the pod †. It is then packed into bags of about two hundred pounds weight, and ſent to market.

The fineſt-grained and moſt perfectly cleaned cotton, which is brought to the Engliſh market, is, I believe, that of the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demarara and Surinam, and of the iſland of Cayenne; but before the year 1780 England had no fine manufactories. In the latter end of that year, however, cotton wool

* It is a very ſlight and ſimple inſtrument, and coſts only from two to three guineas.

† The cotton manufactory of England, ſince the year 1780, hath made a rapid improvement, owing to the large ſpinning machines which are worked by water. Theſe require the cleaneſt cotton, as the ſmalleſt particle of a broken ſeed breaks the thread in this mode of ſpinning.

of

of all kinds found a ready ſale at the following prices: CHAP. IV.

	s.	d.	
Berbice - -	2	1	per lb.
Demerara - -	1	11	to 2s. 1d.
Surinam - -	2	—	
Cayenne - -	2	—	
St. Domingo -	1	10	
Tobago - -	1	9	
Jamaica - -	1	7	

Since that time the prices have indeed varied, but the relative value has continued nearly the ſame; that is, the difference of price between the cotton of Berbice and that of Jamaica has been from 25 to 30 per cent. in favour of the former; a circumſtance which alone ſhould convince the moſt bigotted planter of the Britiſh Weſt Indies that, if he wiſhes to turn his labours to account, the choice of a better ſpecies of cotton, at leaſt of a ſort more eaſily cleaned than that in general cultivation, is indiſpenſably requiſite.

I ſhall now bring into one point of view the ſeveral particulars attending the firſt coſt and ſettlement of a plantation in this ſort of huſbandry, and the returns which may reaſonably be expected from a ſmall capital thus employed. I fix on a ſmall capital; becauſe I conceive that a cotton plantation may be eſtabliſhed on a more moderate fund than any other; and it is for the intereſt of the community that men of ſmall fortunes ſhould be inſtructed how to employ their time and labours to the beſt advantage; ſince it is to ſuch men chiefly that the Weſt Indies are to look for ſafety in the hour of danger.

It is preſumed that land proper for the growth of cotton, ſituated near the ſea, may be purchaſed, in many parts of the Weſt Indies (Jamaica eſpecially)

BOOK V. cially) at £. 5 Jamaica currency per acre; and, as it is prudent in moſt caſes to change the ſoil after the third crop, by replanting freſh land *, I will allot fifty acres for the firſt purchaſe, in order that the planter may have room for that purpoſe. Suppoſing therefore that one-half only is planted in cotton at the ſame time, the capital will be inveſted as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Coſt of fifty acres of land, at £. 5 currency per acre	250	—	—
Expence of cleaning, fencing and planting 25 acres, at £. 7 per acre	175	—	—
Purchaſe of twelve negroes, at £. 70 each	840	—	—
	1,265	—	—
One year's intereſt, at 6 per cent.	75	18	—
One year's maintenance, clothing, and medical care of the negroes	120	—	—
Total expenditure in Jamaica currency (equal to £. 1,040 ſterling)	1,460	18	—

* If the land is extraordinary good, four and even five annual crops are ſometimes gathered from the ſame original plants; after which, inſtead of replanting, it is not uncommon to cut the cotton buſhes down, to within three or four inches of the ground, and mould the ſtems in the May rains, and treat them afterwards in the ſame manner as plants. Some labour is undoubtedly ſaved by this practice, but, in nine caſes out of ten, it will be found more profitable to reſort to freſh land, every third or fourth year. I conſider, at the ſame time, land to be freſh enough which has lain fallow, or been uſed in a different line of culture for three or four years together, the great intention of changing the land being to get rid of that peculiar ſort of grub or worm which preys on the cotton-plants.

The

The returns are now to be conſidered:—In Jamaica it is commonly reckoned that one acre of cotton will yield annually 150 pounds weight, and in ſome years nearly twice as much; but I am afraid that, on an average of any conſiderable number of ſucceſſive crops, even the former is too great an allowance. By accounts which I have procured from the Bahama iſlands, it appears, that in 1785, 1786, and 1787 (all which years were conſidered as favourable), the produce of the cotton-lands, on an average, did not exceed one hundred and twelve pounds per acre; viz.

In 1785 - 2,476 1786 - 3,050 1787 - 4,500	acres produced	2,480 3,000 4,380	Cwt. of Cotton.

The price in the Bahamas and Jamaica was the ſame, viz. 1*s.* 3*d.* ſterling *per* pound.—Allowing therefore the average produce *per* acre to be one hundred weight, the returns are theſe; viz.

	Sterling.
25 cwt. at 1*s.* 3*d.* ſterling per pound	£. 175
Deduct incidental expences, as materials for bagging, colonial taxes, &c. * - - -	25
Remains in ſterling money -	150

Which gives an intereſt of upwards of fourteen per cent. on the capital; ariſing too from the loweſt-priced cotton. If the ſame calculation be applied to cotton-wool, of two ſhillings *per* pound

* The maintenance, &c. of the negroes, after the firſt year, is not charged, becauſe it is conceived, that the land in cotton not being ſufficient to find them in full employment, they may raiſe corn and other articles on the remaining twenty-five acres, more than ſufficient to pay for their clothing and ſupport. It is uſual even to raiſe corn, potatoes, &c. between the ranks of the cotton buſhes.

BOOK V. value (the preſent price of the cotton-wool of St. Domingo) the profit on the capital is twenty-four per cent.

From this diſplay, the rapid progreſs which the Dutch and French planters have made in the culture of this commodity, cannot be thought extraordinary; but there remain ſome circumſtances, of a leſs favourable nature, to be taken into the account. Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton-plant is perhaps the moſt precarious. In its firſt ſtage, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the ſecond; it is ſometimes withered by the blaſt; and rains frequently deſtroy it both in the bloſſom and the pod. The Bahama iſlands afforded a melancholy inſtance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788; no leſs than 280 tons, on a moderate eſtimate, having been devoured by the worm, between September and March, in that year. After this, the reader will hardly ſuſpect me of having rated the average produce of this plant, for a ſeries of years, too low.

With every diſadvantage, however, the demand for cotton-wool, for the Britiſh manufactories, encreaſes with ſuch rapidity, that it cannot be doubted the cultivation of it, with the cautions recommended, will be found highly profitable; the Britiſh dominions not ſupplying, at preſent, more than one-ſixth part of the home demand. If, after a careful ſelection and trials of the different ſpecies of ſeeds already in our poſſeſſion, the cotton-wool of the Britiſh Weſt Indies ſhall ſtill be found inferior to that of the Dutch, no difficulty can occur in obtaining from them a better ſort. It is evident, that the French cotton loſes its ſuperiority in our iſlands, by being ſown promiſcuouſly with an inferior ſpecies.

I ſhall

I ſhall conclude my account of cotton, with preſenting to my readers the following tables, drawn from authentic ſources; which cannot fail to furniſh abundant encouragement for ſpeculation and adventure. CHAP. IV.

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in Britiſh Ships.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	1,135,750
1785	—	—	1,398,500
1786	—	—	1,346,386
1787	—	—	1,158,000

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, under the Freeport Act.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	2,169,000
1785	—	—	1,573,280
1786	—	—	1,962,500
1787	—	—	1,943,000

An Account of Cotton-wool, Britiſh and Foreign, imported from the Britiſh Weſt Indies into Great Britain.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	6,893,959
1785	—	—	8,204,611
1786	—	—	7,830,734
1787	—	—	9,396,921

BOOK V.

An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great Britain, from all Parts.

Years.		lbs.		Supposed Value in Manufactures.
1784	—	11,280,238	—	£.3,950,000 sterling.
1785	—	17,992,888	—	6,000,000
1786	—	19,151,867	—	6,500,000
1787	—	22,600,000	—	7,500,000

Machinery eſtabliſhed in Great Britain (1787) *for the Cotton Manufactory.*

143 Water-mills, which coſt -	£.715,000
20,500 Hand-mills, or jennies, for ſpinning the ſhute, for the twiſted yarn ſpun by the water-mills (including buildings and auxiliary machinery) — —	285,000
Total —	£.1,000,000

The water-mills work 286,000 ſpindles, and the jennies 1,665,100—Total of ſpindles 1,951,100. —And it has been aſſerted, that a pound of raw cotton-wool from Demarara, has been ſpun into 356 hanks, each hank being 840 yards; ſo that the thread would have extended 169 miles.

On the whole it is computed that no leſs than ſix hundred thouſand people in Great Britain find full employment in the cotton manufactory. In point of importance, therefore, even the produce and manufacture of the great ſtaple commodity of this kingdom, *wool*, does not exceed it in a two-fold proportion. According to the information of a very able and diligent inquirer, there are from ten to twelve millions of ſheep in England. The value of their wool may, one year with another, amount to three millions; the expence of manu-

facturing

facturing this is probably nine millions, and the total value twelve millions. In reference to the number of perſons who are maintained by this manufacture, there are probably about a million. CHAP. IV.

INDIGO.

THE plant which yields the valuable commodity called Indigo (probably ſo named from India, where it was firſt known to be cultivated) grows ſpontaneouſly in all the Weſt Indies. In the Britiſh Sugar Iſlands, they reckon three diſtinct ſpecies: the Wild, Guatimala, and French. The firſt is ſaid to be the hardieſt, and the dye extracted from it is ſuppoſed to be of the beſt quality, both in colour and cloſeneſs of grain; but one of the other two ſpecies is commonly preferred by the planter, as yielding a greater return; and of thoſe, the French ſurpaſſes the Guatimala in quantity; but yields to it in fineneſs of grain and beauty of colour.

That the richeſt ſoil produces the moſt luxuriant plant, and that good ſeaſons accelerate its growth, cannot, I think, be doubted; but, obſerving its long tap-root, and ſpontaneous growth, in almoſt every dry and barren ſavannah, I am convinced it will thrive on ſoils that are fit for nothing elſe. The longeſt dry weather will not totally kill it; though much water will have that effect, if ſuffered to remain long on the plant:

The cultivation and manufacture are conducted in the following manner:

The land being properly cleared of weeds, &c. is hoed into ſmall trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches aſunder; in the bottom of which, the ſeeds are ſtrewed by the

BOOK V. the hand, and covered lightly with mold; but as the plants ſhoot, the field muſt be frequently weeded and kept conſtantly clean, until they riſe and ſpread ſufficiently to cover the ground. A buſhel of ſeeds is ſufficient for four or five acres of land.

In the Weſt Indies, the beſt ſeaſon for planting is ſuppoſed to be the month of March, but the plant will flouriſh at any other period; and, if ſown in new land, will come to full bloſſom (and it is then in perfection) in about three calendar months. In the ſouthern provinces of America, the ſeaſon for planting depends greatly on the nature of the ſpring, which varies much in thoſe countries. If the plants appear above ground by the firſt day of March, they will be fit for cutting about the twentieth of Auguſt; and are ſometimes equal to the beſt in the Weſt Indies.

There is this difference, however, between the two countries; that in the Weſt Indies, in ſeaſonable ſituations, they have ſometimes four cuttings in the year from the ſame roots, whereas in North America they have never more than two, and not often more than one. The plant is a child of the ſun, and can be cultivated, I doubt, with great advantage, no where but within the tropics.

But that ſun which thus improves and invigorates the plant, propagates at the ſame time an inſect deſtructive to it. This is a ſpecies of grub or worm, which becomes a fly, and preys on the leaves, and never fails, in the Weſt Indies, to diſappoint the planter's expectations the ſecond year upon the ſame land: the only remedy is to change the ſoil every year. The want of due attention to this important circumſtance, has probably been one of the cauſes that ſo many perſons have failed of late years in their attempts to revive the culture of this valuable commodity.

If

If this deſtructive peſt be happily prevented, or greatly mitigated, the produce *per* acre of the firſt cutting, will be about eighty pounds weight of what the French call *pigeon's-neck*; or about ſixty pounds of a quality equal to the Guatimala. The produce in North America is ſometimes nearly as much; but when Farenheit's thermometer falls to 60°, the returns there are very uncertain, both in quality and quantity; a greater heat being abſolutely neceſſary both for vegetation and maceration. The yielding for the ſubſequent cuttings ſomewhat diminiſhes; but in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land is new, about 300 lbs. per acre of the ſecond quality, may be expected annually from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are ſufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, beſides doing other occaſional work, ſufficient to reimburſe the expences of their maintenance and clothing.

The proceſs for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two ciſterns, which are placed like two ſteps, the one aſcending to the other. The higheſt (which is alſo the longeſt) is called the *ſteeper*; and its dimenſions are about ſixteen feet ſquare, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture near the bottom for diſcharging the fluid into the ſecond, which is called the *battery*, and is commonly about twelve feet ſquare, and four and a half in depth. Ciſterns of theſe dimenſions, are proper for about ſeven acres of the plant: but if ſtone work cannot eaſily be erected for want of materials, vats of ſtrong timber, well ſecured from leakage, will anſwer as well.

The plants are cut with reap-hooks or ſickles, a few inches above the root, and placed by *ſtrata* in the ſteeper, until it is about three parts full.—

They

BOOK V.

They are then ſtrongly preſſed down by boards or planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the weed will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep, and in this ſtate it is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted: but the utmoſt attention and nice management are now required; for, if the fluid is drawn off too ſoon, much of the pulp is left behind; and if the fermentation is too long continued, the tender tops of the weeds occaſion putrefaction, by which all the dye is deſtroyed.

To obtain a certain knowledge therefore of the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto been the grand *deſideratum* of the cultivator. Repeated experiments for this purpoſe, were made ſome years ago in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, under the ſanction and encouragement of the Chamber of Agriculture, and inſtructions (which were ſaid to be practiſed with great ſucceſs by Meſſrs. Dangdale and Mongon, indigo planters in that iſland) were publiſhed by authority, to this effect:

"After the indigo has been ſteeped in the ciſtern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and with a pen dipped into it, make a few ſtrokes upon white paper. The firſt will probably be high coloured, in which caſe the indigo is not ſufficiently fermented; this operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loſes its colour; when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation."

It is aſtoniſhing that an experiment ſo ſimple in itſelf, if it anſwers, ſhould have been for ſo many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confeſs, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myſelf ſomewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method,

thod, which I give on the authority of Mr. Lediard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater certainty: CHAP. IV.

"Let a ſmall hole be made in the ſteeper, ſix or eight inches from the bottom, excluſive of the opening or aperture for drawing off the impregnated water; let this hole likewiſe be ſtopped with a plug, yet not ſo firmly but that a ſmall ſtream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been ſteeped ſome hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the ciſtern, from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperiſh colour. This copperiſh hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually aſcend upwards to the plug, and when that circumſtance is perceived, it is proper to ſtop the fermentation.

"During the progreſs of this part of the buſineſs, particular attention ſhould be paid to the ſmell of the liquor which weeps from the aperture; for ſhould it diſcover any ſourneſs, it will be neceſſary to let the fermented liquor run immediately into the battery, and lime water of ſufficient ſtrength muſt be added to it, till it has loſt its ſourneſs. As it is running off, it will appear green, mixed with a bright yellow or ſtraw-colour, but in the battery it will be of a moſt beautiful green."

The tincture being thus diſcharged into the battery, it is there churned or agitated, until the dye begins to granulate, or float in little flakes in the water. This was formerly done in Jamaica with manual labour, by means of paddles, and, in the French iſlands, by buckets or cylinders fixed to long poles;—but far more convenient machines are now conſtructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horſe or a mule. When the fluid has, by

BOOK V.

ſuch means, been well churned for the ſpace of fifteen or twenty minutes, and, being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled or coagulated, a ſtrong impregnation of lime-water is gradually added, not only to promote a ſeparation, but likewiſe to fix the colour and preſerve it from putrefaction. "But the planters (as Brown obſerves) "muſt carefully diſtinguiſh the different ſtages of this part of the operation alſo, and attentively examine the appearance and colour as the work advances, for the grain paſſes gradually from a greeniſh to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is ſufficiently worked; too ſmall a degree of agitation leaving the Indigo green and coarſe; while too vigorous an action brings it to be almoſt black."

The liquor being properly and ſufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undiſturbed until the flakes or *floculæ* ſettle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the Indigo diſtributed into ſmall linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little ſquare boxes or moulds, and ſuffered to dry gradually in the ſhade; and this finiſhes the manufacture.

To what has been ſaid above of the nature of the plant, ſuiting itſelf to every ſoil, and producing four cuttings in the year, if we add the cheapneſs of the buildings, apparatus and labour, and the great value of the commodity, there will ſeem but little cauſe for wonder at the ſplendid accounts which are tranſmitted down to us concerning the great opulence of the firſt Indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be 300 lbs. and the price no more than 4*s.* ſterling *per* pound, the groſs profits of twenty acres will be £. 1,200, produced by the labour of only ſixteen negroes, and on a capital in land and buildings, ſcarce deſerving conſideration.

Such,

CHAP. IV.

Such, without doubt, will be the reader's firſt reflections. Unhappily, however, the golden hopes which ſpeculations like theſe have raiſed in the minds of thouſands, have vaniſhed on actual experiment, like the viſions of the morning. I think I have myſelf, in the courſe of twenty years reſidence in the Weſt Indies, known at leaſt twenty perſons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was ſituated, except perhaps the remains of a ruined ciſtern covered by weeds, and defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foreſight and property. That they failed is certain, but of the cauſes of their failure, I confeſs I can give no ſatisfactory account. I was told that diſappointment trod cloſe at their heels at every ſtep. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too ſoon. Now again, the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To theſe inconveniencies, for which practice would doubtleſs have found a remedy, were added others of a much greater magnitude. The mortality of the negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, (an alarming circumſtance, that, as I am informed both by the French and Engliſh planters, conſtantly attends the proceſs) the failure of the ſeaſons and the ravages of the worm;—theſe, or ſome of theſe evils, drove them at length to other purſuits, where induſtry might find a ſurer recompence.

Their hiſtory, however, furniſhes a new illuſtration to a very trite but important remark, that a manufacture, once deſtroyed, ſcarce ever takes root again in the ſame country. Of the cauſes from which the general culture and manufacture of Indigo, was relinquiſhed in Jamaica, enough

BOOK V.

has been ſaid by other writers: yet the ſame arguments which induced the Britiſh Government to burthen this commodity with duties under which it ſunk, are ſtill urged in the caſe of other colonial products, and will continue to be urged, till the ſame fate attends many of them as attended Indigo. Of the monſtrous folly and impolicy of loading with high duties an article ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the Britiſh woollen manufactory, (putting colonial conſiderations out of the queſtion) the Mother Country is, I believe, at length ſufficiently convinced, the quantity of Indigo annually imported into Great Britain, from all parts of the world, being, I believe, one million and half of pounds, of which five parts in ſeven are purchaſed with ready money of ſtrangers and rivals!

COFFEE.

So many treatiſes have been written on the hiſtory of coffee; its introduction into the Weſt Indies has been ſo fully traced by ſome writers, and its properties ſo ably inveſtigated by others, (above all, by my learned friend Dr. Benjamin Moſeley) as hardly to leave me the poſſibility of offering any thing new on thoſe ſubjects. The few obſervations therefore which I ſhall preſent to my readers concerning this berry, will relate principally to its culture; and theſe being chiefly founded on actual experience, may perhaps afford ſome uſeful information.

The admirers of coffee have long lamented the inferiority of the Weſt Indian to that of Mocha. That many of the complaints with which the public are amuſed on this ſubject, ariſe wholly from affectation,

affectation, I have not a doubt. At the ſame time, it muſt be admitted that the charge is not wholly without foundation, inaſmuch as the Weſt Indian coffee is frequently drank within twelve months after it has been gathered from the tree; and that the flavour improves by age, there is not a coffee planter in the Weſt Indies ſo bigotted to his own poſſeſſions, as wholly to deny. CHAP. IV.

But the notion that the coffee itſelf is naturally inferior to that of the Eaſt, as being the production of a coarſer and leſs valuable ſpecies of the tree, needs no other refutation than the circumſtance related by the celebrated gardener, Mr. Miller, "that from plants brought from the Weſt Indies, and raiſed in Engliſh hot-houſes, coffee berries have been produced which, at a proper age, were found to ſurpaſs the very beſt Mocha that could be procured in Great Britain." It is evident therefore that the whole difference depends on the ſoil and climate, mode of curing, and age.

It appears, on the authority of Le Roque, and other writers, that the Arabian coffee is produced in a very dry climate; and flouriſhes moſt on a ſandy ſoil, or on mountainous ſlopes, which give an eaſy conveyance to the rains. The propriety of chooſing ſimilar ſituations in the Weſt Indies (if a ſmall berry, beſt ſuited for the Engliſh market, is expected) is juſtified by the experience of every coffee planter.

A rich deep ſoil, frequently meliorated by ſhowers, will produce a luxuriant tree, and a great crop; but the beans, which are large, and of a dingy green, prove, for many years, rank and vapid. It is ſingular, however, that the North Americans prefer this ſort to any other, and, as they have hitherto been the beſt cuſtomers at the Weſt Indian markets, the planters naturally enough have applied

BOOK V.

plied their labours to that cultivation which turned to the beſt account.

Happily for the coffee planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, the Engliſh market, by a prudent conceſſion of Government in 1783, was rendered more open to them. Before that period, the duties and exciſe on the importation and conſumption of Britiſh plantation coffee in Great Britain were no leſs than 480 *per cent.* on its then marketable value. Under ſuch exactions, its cultivation in our ſugar iſlands muſt (but for the American market) have ſhared the ſame fate as that of Indigo. The great and important reduction of one ſhilling a pound from the exciſe duties, created an immediate and wonderful change; and while it promoted the intereſt of the planter, it even augmented the revenue of the ſtate; more than double the quantity of coffee having been brought to entry in 1784 than was entered in the year preceding; increaſing the ſum total of the duties from £. 2,869 10*s.* 10½*d.* to £. 7,200 15*s.* 9*d.*; an important proof, among others, how frequently heavy taxation defeats its own purpoſe!

As the Britiſh demand has thus increaſed, ſo, on the other hand, the American has declined, having, as I conceive, been transferred in a great meaſure to the foreign iſlands. It is now therefore become the intereſt of the planter to change his ſyſtem, by ſuiting the nature of his commodity to the taſte of his new cuſtomers.

This, it is true, is not within the power of every man, whoſe plantation is already ſettled, to accompliſh; but aſſuredly it is a very important object to ſuch perſons as may have it in contemplation to adventure in this line of cultivation, (in a country, where every ſpecies of ſoil, and choice of ſituation, may be found) to know beforehand

forehand how to employ their money and labour to the greateſt advantage. CHAP. IV.

Coffee indeed will thrive in every ſoil in the Weſt Indies; a cold ſtiff clay, and a ſhallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. In both which, the leaves turn yellow, and the trees periſh, or produce nothing; but the beſt and higheſt-flavoured fruit is unqueſtionably the growth of either a warm gravelly mould, a ſandy loam, or the dry red hills which are found in almoſt every iſland of the Weſt Indies, Jamaica eſpecially. Frequent ſhowers of rain, however, are friendly to its growth, but if water remains long about the roots, the tree will decay and periſh.

If the land be freſh and naturally good, coffee plants may be ſet out at all ſeaſons of the year, even in dry weather, and they will thrive in any ſituation, provided it be ſcreened from the north winds, which often deſtroy the bloſſom; and ſometimes in the after part of the year, when thoſe winds prevail moſt, entirely ſtrip the tree of both fruit and leaves; blaſting in a moment all the hopes of the planter.

The uſual mode of planting is, to line out the land into ſquares of eight feet; in other words, to ſow the ſeeds, or ſet out the young plants, eight feet diſtant from each other on all ſides, which gives ſix hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and, where young plants are eaſily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be ſet out are generally ſelected of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the ſurface of the ground, and care is taken to dig them up with the roots as entire as poſſible. The holes in which they are ſet, are made large enough to hold the lower part of the ſtem and all the roots; and the upper fibres are buried about two inches under the ſurface.

But,

BOOK V.

But, although eight feet be the uſual diſtance of ſetting out the plants in all ſoils, it is frequently found, in rich lands, that the trees, as they grow to maturity, become, from their luxuriance, ſo cloſely intermingled together, as to impede the free paſſage of the air: In ſuch caſes it is thought adviſeable to cut down every ſecond row, within ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well moulding the ſtumps, they will furniſh a ſucceſſion of healthy young trees, while the rows which are left will bear much better for the room which is given them. Old plantations (or *walks*, as they are called) cut down in this manner, not dug up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the ſecond year; and the operation may be frequently repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the general and moſt approved ſyſtem is to keep the trees perfectly clear of ſuckers, and to rear one ſtem only, from one root. If therefore a healthy ſhoot ſprings near the ground, all the original plant is cut off cloſe above it, by which means, when the plant is moulded, the root becomes well covered. At the height of five or ſix feet, which the plants generally attain the third year, the trees are topped. At this height, a ſingle ſtem gives from thirty-ſix to forty-two bearing branches, and the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing but thoſe branches.

From what has been ſaid concerning the effect of a difference of ſeaſons, it muſt be difficult to fix on the average produce of a coffee plantation by the acre. In rich and ſpungy ſoils a ſingle tree has been known to yield from ſix to eight pounds of coffee: I mean when pulped and dried. In a different ſituation, a pound and a quarter from each tree, on an average, is great yielding; but then the coffee is infinitely better in point of flavour.

flavour. The following is, I believe, on a medium, as accurate a calculation as the ſubject will admit. Coffee trees raiſed from old roots, in lands neither very poor nor very rich, bear the ſecond year from the new growth 300 pounds weight per acre, 500 pounds the third year, and from 6 to 700 pounds the fourth. If the trees are raiſed from young plants, no produce is to be expected until the third year from the planting; when they will yield very little; the fourth year, about 700 pounds. The average annual produce per acre after that period, if the walk is properly attended to, may be reckoned at 750 pounds; and one negro is well able to take proper care of an acre and a half. CHAP. IV.

We are now come to the moſt important buſineſs of the coffee planter, *i. e.* the gathering in his crop, and the mode of curing it for market. The practice in Arabia, according to Le Roque, is as follows:—"When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they ſpread cloths under the trees; which they ſhake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards ſpread upon mats and expoſed to the ſun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a conſiderable time; after which, the beans are extricated from its outward incumbrance by the preſſure of a large and heavy ſtone roller, when they are again dried in the ſun; for the planters conſider, that, unleſs coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for ſale."

It cannot be denied that this ſimple method muſt be infinitely ſuperior to any other for preſerving the genuine flavour of the berry; but it may well be doubted whether the additional price which the planter might obtain at the Britiſh

BOOK V.

British market for coffee thus gathered and prepared, would be adequate to the value of the time and labour which ſo tedious a method would neceſſarily require. The uſual practice in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is as follows:—

As ſoon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are ſuppoſed to be ſufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes employed in this buſineſs are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occaſionally into a baſket, and if he be induſtrious, he may pick three buſhels in the day. But it is not very provident to urge him on too faſt, as probably a great deal of unripe fruit will in that caſe be mixed with the ripe. The uſual practice is to pick the trees at three different ſtages of ripeneſs. One hundred buſhels in the pulp, freſh from the tree, will give about one thouſand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods in uſe of curing or drying the bean: The one is, to ſpread the freſh coffee in the ſun, in layers about five inches deep, on a ſloping terras, or platform of boards; with the pulp on the berry, which in a few days ferments and diſcharges itſelf in a ſtrong acidulous moiſture, and in this ſtate the coffee is left, until it is perfectly dry, which, if the weather is favourable, it will be in about three weeks. The huſks are afterwards ſeparated from the ſeeds by a grinding mill hereafter to be deſcribed, or frequently by pounding them with peſtles in troughs or large wooden mortars. Coffee thus cured, weighs four per cent. heavier than if cured without the pulp.

The other mode is to pulp it immediately as it comes from the tree. This is done by means of a pulping mill, conſiſting of a horizontal fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches

inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a crank or handle, and acts againſt a moveable breaſt-board, which being fitted cloſe to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from paſſing whole. The mill is fed by a ſloping trough, and the aperture of the trough, from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical ſliding board. By this ſimple machine a negro will pulp a buſhel in a minute. The pulp, and the bean (in its parchment ſkin) fall promiſcuouſly together. The whole is then waſhed in wire ſieves, to ſeparate the pulp from the ſeeds, and theſe are immediately ſpread open to the ſun to dry.

There prevails great difference of opinion among the coffee planters on the ſubject of theſe two different methods of curing raw coffee. The latter is perhaps the moſt profitable, as being more expeditious; but I have no doubt that the former would give the beſt flavoured coffee, provided the fermentation, which always takes place when the raw fruit is placed in heaps on the platform, could be prevented, which might eaſily be done at the expence of a little more room. The blue dingy green, which to the American is the teſt of good coffee, is conſidered by the London dealer as a proof that it has not been ſufficiently cured. From both methods, however, the coffee may prove very good with the powerful aſſiſtance of its great improver, age.

Hitherto, I have deſcribed the pulping mill only. There yet remains the operation of grinding off the parchment ſkin, or membrane which immediately invelops the bean, and is left after the pulp is removed. It is done by a machine which will alſo ſeparate, at the ſame time, the dried pulp (if the former mode of curing has been adopted)

BOOK V. adopted) much more expeditiouſly than the peſtle and mortar.

The grinding mill conſiſts of a perpendicular axis, ſurrounded at ſome diſtance by a circular trough, into which the coffee is thrown, and about a foot above the level of the ſurface of the trough, there are commonly four horizontal arms or ſweeps, tenanted into the axis, and ſtretching ſome feet beyond the trough, and on them are four rollers, fitted to run in the trough on the arms being turned round with the axis, which is done by mules yoked to the extremity. The rollers, which are generally of conſiderable weight, moving round in the trough, bruiſe the ſkins of the coffee, ſo as to render them ſeparable by the fan, though there is always a proportion left untouched. When it appears ſufficiently bruiſed, it is taken out of the trough and put to the fan, which clears the coffee from the chaff, and the ſeeds remaining unground are ſeparated by ſieves, and returned to the mill; which will clear 1,500 pounds of coffee in a day.

There is ſtill another mode of curing coffee, both with and without the pulp, and that is by means of ſtoves. But it is practiſed by very few planters; it requiring an expenſive apparatus in the firſt place, and in the ſecond, it is ſaid that the ſmoke of the fire gives a diſagreeable ſmell and taſte to the berry. I know not if this aſſertion be true: it is certain, however, that nothing imbibes the ſmell or taſte of any thing near it, ſooner than coffee.

For the ſame reaſon it is a matter of great conſequence that proper care ſhould be taken, in ſhipping it for Europe, that it be not put into parts of the ſhip where it may receive the effluvia of

of other freight. "Coffee berries (ſays Dr. Moſeley) are remarkably diſpoſed to imbibe exhalations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and diſagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will in a ſhort time ſo impregnate the berries, as to injure the taſte in a high degree, and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few bags of pepper on board a ſhip from India, ſome years ſince, ſpoiled a whole cargo of coffee." CHAP. IV.

The few preceding obſervations are all that occur to me concerning the mode of cultivating, and preparing for market, this far-famed berry. I ſhall conclude the ſubject by offering a ſhort eſtimate of the expences and returns attending its culture, which I conceive tends more to the encouragement of induſtry, and of courſe to the increaſe of white population in the Weſt Indian iſlands, than that of any other of their ſtaple commodities; its produce being more equal and certain, than that of any plant in cultivation, and its average profits more conſiderable in proportion to the capital employed.

It will be urged, perhaps, that if ſuch were the fact, its culture would have been more general in the Britiſh Weſt Indies. This objection has been anticipated and anſwered by what has been related of the heavy exciſe duties on this commodity in Great Britain previous to 1783. To ſay (as is commonly ſaid in the caſe of all duties on goods imported) that they fall on the conſumer, and not on the planter, proves nothing; for if the price, in conſequence of the duties, becomes ſo high as that the conſumer ceaſes to purchaſe, the effect is equally ruinous to the cultivator, as if they fell immediately on himſelf. Nothing more clearly demonſtrates that the cultivation

BOOK V. tivation of this article was greatly affected by the British duties, than the comparative quantities imported into France and England; the whole annual import into Great Britain, on an average of five years, (1783 to 1787) not exceeding five millions six hundred thousand pounds weight; whereas the island of Hispaniola alone has produced an annual supply of seventy million of pounds and upwards.

It is likewise apparent, that since the reduction of the duties in 1783; the cultivation of coffee in the British West Indies, in Jamaica especially, has made a more rapid progress than in thirty years preceding. Yet (as Dr. Moseley has observed) even the present duty of six-pence *per* pound is too high to admit the general use of this fragrant beverage among all classes of people. What then must be thought of the former exaction of three times that duty, which continued for fifty-one years? So little has the science of colonial commerce been understood or adverted to!

Estimate of the Expence and Return of a Coffee Plantation in the Mountains of Jamaica, fourteen miles from the sea, calculated in the currency of that island, being forty per cent. worse than sterling; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
First cost of 300 acres of mountain land, of which one-half is reserved for provisions and pasturage, at £.3 per acre	900	—	—
Ditto, of 100 negroes, at £.70 per head — —	7,000	—	—
Ditto, of 20 mules, at £.28	560	—	—

Buildings

	£.	s.	d.
Buildings and utenſils, mills and negro tools — —	2,000	—	—
Expence of maintaining the negroes the firſt year, before proviſions can be raiſed (excluſive of other annual expences charged below) £.5 each — —	500	—	—
	10,960	—	—
Compound intereſt for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 per cent.	2,093	—	—
	£.13,053	—	—

ANNUAL EXPENCES, *viz.*

White overſeer and maintenance —	200
One other white ſervant	70
Medical attendance on the negroes —	25
Negro-ſupplies, *viz.* cloathing, &c. ſalted fiſh, and other proviſions, excluſive of the produce of their own grounds —	200
Colonial taxes —	100
	595
Total for three years, before any return can be expected —	1785

Compound

BOOK V.

Compound intereſt, as it ariſes in the ſeveral years —		£. s. d.
	221	
		2,006 — —
Total expence —		£.15,059 — —

Returns the fourth year, at £.4 per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792; viz.

From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000 lbs. —		£. s. d. 1,800 — —
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year —	595	
Sacks and ſaddles —	40	
		635 — —
Clear profit —		£1,165 — —

(being equal to £.7. 14s. per cent on the capital.)

Returns the fifth and ſubſequent years; viz.

150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. per acre, 112,500 lbs. at £.4 —		£. s. d. 4,500 — —
Deduct annual charges, as before — —	595	
Sacks and ſaddles —	80	
Repairs of mills, &c. —	100	
		775 — —
Clear profit (being equal to $24\frac{3}{5}$ per cent. on the capital)		£.3,725 — —

HAVING

CHAP. IV.

HAVING thus copiouſly treated of the cultivation of thoſe products which chiefly give value and importance to the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies, and contribute in a very eminent degree, to the wealth, commerce and navigation of the parent ſtate, it is the leſs neceſſary for me to dwell at great length on minor ſtaples; yet theſe cannot be wholly overlooked in a comprehenſive ſurvey of the tropical kingdom; neither indeed are they to be conſidered as unimportant, except by compariſon with thoſe rich and profitable commodities of which ſo much has been ſaid in this and the preceding chapters. The remaining claſſes, of which I ſhall briefly treat, are *cacao*, *ginger*, *arnotto*, *aloes*, and *piemento*. As my obſervations will be few, they will be chiefly practical and commercial; a ſyſtematical deſcription of each being to be found in Sloane, Brown, Hughes, and other writers.

CACAO.

THE cacao or chocolate nut, a production equally delicate, wholeſome and nutritive, is a native of South America, and is ſaid to have been originally conveyed to Hiſpaniola from ſome of the provinces of New Spain; where, beſides affording to the natives an article of nouriſhment, it ſerved the purpoſe of money; and was uſed by them as a medium in barter; one hundred and fifty of the nuts being conſidered of much the ſame value as a *ryal* by the Spaniards. From this circumſtance, it ſeems probable that if

BOOK V. the ancient inhabitants of South America were emigrants from Europe or Aſia, they muſt have detached themſelves at an early period, before metals were converted into coins, or from ſome ſociety which had made but moderate advances in civilization.

Among the Spaniards, with whom the cacao ſtill forms a conſiderable article of commerce, its cultivation is conducted in the following manner. Having choſen a ſpot of level land (a deep black mould is preferred) ſheltered round with a thick wood, ſo as to be well ſcreened from the wind, eſpecially the north, and cauſed it to be cleared from all manner of ſtumps and weeds, the planter digs a number of holes at eighteen or twenty feet diſtance, each hole being about a foot in length and width, and ſix or eight inches deep. In the mean time, having ſelected the largeſt and faireſt pods of the cacao when full ripe, he takes out the grains and puts them into a veſſel of water. Such of them as ſwim are rejected; the others, being waſhed clean from the pulp and ſkinned, are ſuffered to remain in the water till they begin to ſprout, at which time they are fit for planting. The owner then takes the banana, or ſome other large leaves, and places one leaf within the circumference of each hole, ſo as to line it round; leaving however the ſides of the leaf ſome inches above the ground; after which he rubs in the mould, very lightly, 'till the hole is filled. He then ſelects three nuts for each hole, and plants them triangularly, by making a ſmall opening for each with his finger, about two inches deep, into which he puts the nuts, with that end downwards from which the ſprout iſſues, and having lightly covered them with mould, he folds over the leaf, and places a ſmall ſtone

ſtone on the top to prevent its opening. In this manner he plants his whole walk, or orchard. At the end of eight or ten days, the plants will generally be found to riſe above the earth. The leaves are then opened, that their growth may not be impeded; but, in order to ſhelter them from the ſun, other leaves or branches are placed round the hole; for which purpoſe thoſe of the palm kind are generally choſen (for having a ſtrong ſtem, they are eaſily fixed in the earth) and they are changed as often as they decay, for the ſpace of five or ſix months. It is alſo thought adviſable to plant ſome other tree (the erythrina or bean tree is generally choſen for this purpoſe) to the ſouth-weſt of the cacao plant, which may grow up with it, and ſerve it for ſhelter;—for it muſt always be remembered, that young cacao trees will flouriſh only in the ſhade. CHAP. IV.

If all the three nuts planted in each hole ſpring up, it is thought neceſſary, when the plants are eighteen or twenty inches high, to cut one of them down. The other two, if they ſpread different ways, are ſometimes ſuffered to remain; but it ſeldom happens that all the nuts, or even more than one of them, will take root, which is the reaſon of planting three in a hole.

The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth attains its full perfection. It then produces in general two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each, from ten to twenty pounds weight, according to the ſoil and ſeaſons; and it will ſometimes continue bearing for twenty years; but the ſame delicacy of ſtamina which marks its infancy, is viſible in all the ſtages of its growth. It is obnoxious to blights, and ſhrinks from the firſt appearance of drought.

BOOK V.

It has happened that the greateſt part of a whole plantation of cacao trees have periſhed in a ſingle night, without any viſible cauſe. Circumſtances of this nature, in early times, gave riſe to many ſuperſtitious notions concerning this tree, and, among others, the appearance of a comet was always conſidered as fatal to the cacao plantations.

In ſpite however of the influence of comets, and notwithſtanding the care and precaution that are requiſite in the firſt eſtabliſhment of a cacao plantation, it is certain that the cultivation of this plant was both extenſive and ſucceſsful in the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, for many years after they had become ſubject to the Britiſh government. Blome, who publiſhed a ſhort account of Jamaica in 1672, ſpeaks of cacao as being at that time one of the chief articles of export: "there are, ſays he, in this iſland, at this time, about ſixty cacao walks (plantations) and many more now planting." At preſent I believe there is not a ſingle cacao plantation from one end of Jamaica to the other. A few ſcattered trees, here and there, are all that remain of thoſe flouriſhing and beautiful groves which were once the pride and boaſt of the country. They have withered, with the indigo manufacture, under the heavy hand of miniſterial exaction. The exciſe on cacao, when made into cakes, roſe to no leſs than twelve pounds twelve ſhillings *per cwt.* excluſive of eleven ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny, paid at the cuſtom-houſe; amounting together to upwards of four hundred and eighty *per cent.* on its marketable value!

It is to be hoped that the error of impoſing ſuch heavy impoſitions on our own colonial growths, is at length become ſufficiently manifeſt.

After all, there is reaſon to apprehend that our ſugar iſlands can never again enter into competition with the Spaniſh Americans in the cultivation of the article of which I treat. At preſent the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; and the quantity annually exported from both thoſe iſlands cannot, I believe, be eſtimated, on an average, at more than four thouſand bags of one hundred weight each, which may be worth, at the London market, between ten and eleven thouſand pounds ſterling *.

* The cacao tree, both in ſize and ſhape, ſomewhat reſembles a young *blackheart cherry*. The flower is of a ſaffron colour, extremely beautiful, and the pods, which in a green ſtate are much like a cucumber, proceed immediately from all parts of the body and larger branches. As they ripen, they change their colour, and turn to a fine bluiſh red, almoſt purple, with pink-coloured veins. This is the common ſort; but there is a larger ſpecies, which produces pods of a delicate yellow or lemon colour. Each pod may contain from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, not unlike almonds, which are again incloſed in a white pulpy ſubſtance, ſoft and ſweet, and immediately enveloped in a parchment ſhell. Theſe nuts, being firſt ſimply dried in the ſun, are packed for market, and require very little preparation, after removing the ſhell, to be made into good chocolate. The cakes which are generally uſed under this name in England, appear to me to be compoſed of not more than one half genuine cacao; the remainder I take to be *flour*, and *Caſtile ſoap*. Conſidered medicinally, chocolate is ſaid to be too heavy for weak and relaxed ſtomachs; but in the Weſt Indies, experience abundantly demonſtrates that it is in the higheſt degree balſamic and reſtorative.—Colonel Montague James of Jamaica, who was the firſt white perſon born after the conqueſt of the iſland by the Engliſh, lived to the great age of one hundred and ten, and for the laſt thirty years of his life uſed ſcarce any other food than chocolate.

GINGER.

GINGER.

BOOK V.

THIS grateful aromatic root had a very early introduction into Hiſpaniola, and I ſhould not have ſuppoſed it an exotic, but that Acoſta relates it was conveyed from the Eaſt Indies to New Spain by a perſon named Franciſco de Mendoza.

If ſuch was the fact, the Spaniſh Americans muſt have entertianed very high expectations of profit from its culture, and carried it to a great extent in a very ſhort ſpace of time; it appearing from the ſame author, that no leſs than 22,053 cwt. were exported by them to Old Spain in the year 1547.

Ginger is diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, the black and the white; but the difference ariſes wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preſervation by means of boiling water, the latter by inſolation; and, as it is found neceſſary to ſelect the faireſt and ſoundeſt roots for expoſure to the ſun, white ginger is commonly one-third dearer than black in the market.

In the cultivation of this root no greater ſkill or care is required than in the propagation of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted much in the ſame manner; but is fit for digging only once a year, unleſs for the purpoſe of preſerving it in ſyrup. In that caſe it muſt be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender, and full of ſap. Ginger thus prepared makes an admirable ſweetmeat; but it is too well known to require deſcription.

It ſeems to me that this commodity is growing greatly out of uſe in Europe, and its cultivation in the Weſt Indies decreaſes in conſequence. The average quantity exported annually from the Britiſh iſlands may be ſtated at ten thouſand bags of one cwt. of which 6000 are the produce

duce of Barbadoes, and the remainder (except a very ſmall part from Dominica) is raiſed in Jamaica. Its medium price, at the London market, is forty ſhillings the hundred weight *.

ARNATTO.

THIS production is indigenous, and was called by one claſs of Indians roucou, and by another achiotte. Of its preſent name I know not the derivation. Its botanical name is bixa. It is a ſhrub which riſes to the height of ſeven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of a cheſnut. Within theſe are thirty or forty irregularly figured ſeeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and unpleaſant ſmell, in appearance like the ſort of paint called red lead when mixed up with oil; and as paint it was uſed by Indians, in the ſame manner as woad by the ancient Britons.

Of the cultivation of this plant I know nothing, becauſe moſt of the arnatto, ſhipped at preſent from our own iſlands, is, I believe, gathered from trees growing ſpontaneouſly. The method of extracting the pulp, and preparing it for market, is ſimply by boiling the ſeeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which the ſeeds are taken out, and the water left undiſturbed for the pulp to ſubſide. It is then drawn off, and the ſediment diſtributed into ſhallow veſſels, and dried gradually in the ſhade.

* Jamaica alone, in 1738, exported 20,933 bags, of one *cwt.* each, and 8864 *lbs.* in caſks.—An acre of freſh land, with favourable ſeaſons, will yield about 140 *lbs.* annually.

Arnatto

BOOK V.

Arnatto thus prepared is mixed up by the Spaniſh Americans with their chocolate; to which it gives (in their opinion) an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They ſuppoſe that it ſtrengthens the ſtomach, ſtops fluxes, and abates febrile ſymptoms; but its principal conſumption, I believe, is among painters and dyers. I am informed that it is ſometimes uſed by the Dutch farmers, to give a richneſs of colour to their butter, and very ſmall quantities of it are ſaid to be applied in the ſame manner in Engliſh dairies.—On the whole, however, it is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not ſufficient to encourage much attention to its cultivation.

ALOES.

THE moſt valuable ſpecies of aloes is that of the iſland of Socotora in the Eaſt Indies, the introduction of which in our Weſt Indian colonies, has hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The ſpecies called the hepatic, is the only ſort known to our planters, and even of this, the cultivation in the Britiſh dominions is, I believe, at preſent, wholly confined to the iſland of Barbadoes, where it is ſaid to have been originally introduced from Bermudas. It is propagated by ſuckers, and will thrive in ſoils the moſt dry and barren. The mode of extracting and preparing the juice is as follows:

The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleanſed from the earth, or other impurities. It is then ſliced, and cut in pieces, into ſmall hand-baſkets or nets. Theſe nets or baſkets are put into large iron boilers or cauldrons with water, and

and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken out, and freſh parcels ſupplied, till the liquor is ſtrong and black. CHAP. IV.

At this period the liquor is thrown through a ſtrainer into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, where it is left to cool, and to depoſit its feculent parts. Next day the clear liquor is drawn off by a cock, and again committed to the large iron veſſel. At firſt it is boiled briſkly, but towards the end the evaporation is ſlow, and requires conſtant ſtirring to prevent burning. When it becomes of the conſiſtence of honey, it is poured into gourds, or calabaſhes, for ſale, and hardens by age.

PIEMENTO, OR ALLSPICE.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the moſt elegant productions in nature; a production which rivals the moſt valuable ſpices of the Eaſt, combining the flavour and properties of many of thoſe ſpices; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable ſubſtitute, and ſuccedaneum for them all.

The piemento trees grow ſpontaneouſly, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly ſituations near the ſea, on the northern ſide of that iſland; where they form the moſt delicious groves that can poſſibly be imagined; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very diſtant part of the globe, to our great poet's deſcription of thoſe balmy gales which convey to the delighted voyager

"Sabean odours from the ſpicy ſhore
Of Araby the bleſt.
Cheer'd with the grateful ſmell, old ocean ſmiles."

This

BOOK V. This tree is purely a child of nature, and ſeems to mock all the labours of man, in his endeavours to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raiſe them from the ſeeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing ſpontaneouſly, having ſucceeded. The uſual method of forming a new piemento plantation, (in Jamaica it is called *a walk*) is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of wood land, in the neighbourhood of a plantation already exiſting, or in a country where the ſcattered trees are found in a native ſtate, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are ſuffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and periſh. In the courſe of twelve months after the firſt ſeaſon, abundance of young piemento plants will be found growing vigorouſly in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries ſcattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both ſhelter and ſhade. At the end of two years, it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleanſing, leaving ſuch only of the piemento trees as have a good appearance, which will then ſoon form ſuch groves as thoſe I have deſcribed, and, except perhaps for the firſt four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, ſmooth and ſhining, and altogether free of bark, riſes to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It then branches out on all ſides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, ſomewhat like thoſe of the bay tree, and theſe, in the months of July and Auguſt, are beautifully contraſted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable

remarkable that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and I am told yield in diſtillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly uſed, in the medicinal diſpenſaries of Europe, for oil of cloves. CHAP. IV.

Soon after the trees are in bloſſom, the berries become fit for gathering; the fruit not being ſuffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that ſtate, being moiſt and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and when dry becomes black and taſteleſs. It is impoſſible however to prevent ſome of the ripe berries from mixing with the reſt; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is conſiderably injured.

It is gathered by the hand;—one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the ſmall branches, will give employment to three below (who are generally women and children) in picking the berries; and an induſtrious picker will fill a bag of 70 *lbs.* in the day. It is then ſpread on a terrace, and expoſed to the ſun for about ſeven days, in the courſe of which it loſes its green colour, and becomes of a reddiſh brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The returns from a piemento walk in a favourable ſeaſon are prodigious. A ſingle tree has been known to yield 150 *lbs.* of the raw fruit, or one *cwt.* of the dried ſpice; there being commonly a loſs in weight of one-third in curing; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and perhaps a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the Britiſh market, as may be ſuppoſed, fluctuates accordingly, but I believe its average, for ſome years paſt, may be put at ten-pence the pound, including the duty, which is three-pence.

This,

BOOK V.

This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however ſo little profit to the owner, compared with that of ſome other productions, that the growth of piemento decreaſes every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about ſix thouſand bags of one hundred and twelve pounds each.

I HAVE now finiſhed all that I propoſed to offer on Weſt Indian productions and agriculture. The ſubject is naturally dry and forbidding, and having wearied myſelf, I have no doubt that I have exhauſted the patience of others. Let it not be forgotten however that I have had to conduct my readers through a path—not ſtrewed with roſes, but—perplexed with briars, and hitherto almoſt untrodden. In ſuch a purſuit, I may perhaps be content to give up all pretenſions to the happy talent of blending pleaſure with inſtruction, ſatisfied with the homely praiſe of being uſeful to the moſt uſeful part of the community.

END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE

THE

HISTORY,

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

Britiſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies.

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAP. I.

Colonial Eſtabliſhments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges.—Some Reflections on the uſual Choice of Perſons for this high Office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and Preſident.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legiſlature.—Its Neceſſity, Propriety, and Legality conſidered.—Some Corrections in the Conſtitution of this Body propoſed.

THE Britiſh eſtabliſhments in the Weſt Indies are commonly termed *king's* governments, in contradiſtinction to the *proprietary* and *charter* governments which were known in North America; and, from what has been ſtated in ſome of the preceding chapters, the reader muſt have obſerved,

BOOK VI. ed, how very nearly internal conſtitutions conform to that of the mother country. Their different orders of judicature are exactly like thoſe of England, and their legiſlatures, in general, reſpectively conſiſt of three diſtinct branches; *i. e.* a governor, repreſenting the crown, a council or upper houſe, and a body of delegates repreſenting the people at large. The two firſt are neceſſarily imperfect, becauſe they are not independent; but the members of the laſt are more fairly and equally choſen by their conſtituents, than thoſe of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons by the people of Great Britain. Of the powers and privileges claimed and exerciſed by theſe ſeveral branches reſpectively, in their own little ſyſtem, and whence derived, I ſhall now briefly treat. And, firſt, of the

GOVERNOR.

EVERY chief governor in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is appointed by letters patent under the great ſeal of Great Britain. He receives through courteſy the title of Excellency, and is veſted with the following powers:

Firſt, as captain general and commander in chief, he has the actual command of all the land forces within his government (except only when a general officer is employed on the ſtaff) and he commiſſions all officers of the militia. He appoints the judges of all the different courts of common law, and even theſe gentlemen, in all the iſlands I believe (Jamaica excepted *) hold their

* By an act paſſed in Jamaica in 1781, entitled, "An act to make the places of the judges, &c. more permanent and reſpectable," it is declared that no judge ſhall be removed but by

their ſeats during the governor's good pleaſure. CHAP. I.
He nominates and ſupercedes at will, the cuſtodes, juſtices of the peace, and other ſubordinate civil officers; and although in reſpect to ſome of the above appointments and diſmiſſions, he is directed to aſk the advice of his council, this direction is of little avail, inaſmuch as the members of this body are themſelves liable to be ſuſpended by the governor, on the moſt frivolous pretences, or even without any cauſe aſſigned; a circumſtance, by the way, which not unfrequently happens; and having thus reduced the board under a number limited by his inſtructions, he can fill up the vacancies *inſtanter*, with ſuch perſons as will be *properly obedient*. He has authority, with the advice of his council, to ſummon general aſſemblies; he appoints the place of their meeting, and when met, he poſſeſſes a negative voice in the legiſlature, for without his conſent, no bill paſſes into a law; and he may, from time to time, as he alone ſhall judge needful, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve all ſuch general aſſemblies. He has the diſpoſal of all ſuch civil employments as the crown does not diſpoſe of; and with reſpect to ſuch offices as are uſually filled up by the Britiſh government, if vacancies happen, the governor appoints *pro tempore*, and the perſons ſo appointed are entitled to all the emoluments, until they are ſuperceded at home, and until the perſons nominated to ſupercede them, arrive in the colo-

by the king's pleaſure, ſignified under his majeſty's ſign manual. It is provided however that the governor, with the conſent of five of his council, may *ſuſpend*, until the king's pleaſure be known, accounting to his majeſty for, and delivering to the party ſuſpended a copy of his reaſons in writing for ſuch ſuſpenſion. This proviſo ſeems to me to render this act in a great meaſure nugatory.

ny.

BOOK VI. ny. The governor claims the privilege alſo, in extraordinary caſes, and has been known frequently to exerciſe it, of ſuſpending ſuch civil officers even as act immediately under the king's authority, or by commiſſion from the boards of treaſury and admiralty, in high and lucrative employments, as the attorney and advocate general, the collectors of the cuſtoms, &c. and of nominating other perſons to act in their room, until the king's pleaſure ſhall be known therein. To all which is added authority, when he ſhall judge any offender in criminal matters a fit object of mercy, to extend the king's gracious pardon towards him, except only in caſes of murder and high treaſon; and even in theſe caſes, the governor is permitted to reprieve until the ſignification of the royal pleaſure.

Secondly, the governor has the cuſtody of the great ſeal, and, in moſt of the colonies, preſides ſolely in the High Court of Chancery. Indeed, in ſome of the Windward Iſlands, as we have ſeen, the council ſit as judges in the court of Chancery with the governor: Proceſs however is iſſued by the governor alone, and teſted in his name; and in general the governor exerciſes within his juriſdiction, the ſame extenſive powers as are poſſeſſed by the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

Thirdly, the governor is Ordinary, and collates to all vacant church benefices. He hath alſo the power of granting probate of wills, and adminiſtration of the effects of perſons dying inteſtate. He grants licences for marriages, and licences for ſchools, &c. and is ſole judge in all matters relating to the conſiſtorial or eccleſiaſtical law.

Fourthly, the governor preſides in the court of error, of which he and the council are judges, to hear and determine all appeals, in the nature of

of writs of error, from the ſuperior courts of common law. CHAP. VI.

Fifthly, the governor is alſo vice-admiral within the extent of his government. As ſuch, he is entitled to the rights of *jetſan*, *flotſam*, &c. and in time of war, he iſſues his warrant to the judge of the court of vice admiralty, to grant commiſſions to privateers *.

Laſtly, a colony governor, beſides various emoluments ariſing from fees, fines, forfeitures, and eſcheats, has an honourable annual proviſion ſettled upon him, by act of aſſembly, for the whole term of his adminiſtration in the colony. For, in order that he may not be tempted to proſtitute the dignity of his ſtation by improper condeſcenſions to leading men in the aſſembly, he is reſtrained by his inſtructions from accepting any ſalary, unleſs the ſame be ſettled upon him by law, within the ſpace of one year after his entrance into the government, and expreſsly made irrevocable during the whole term of his reſidence in the adminiſtration. And this, in my opinion, is a wiſe, and moſt neceſſary reſtriction.

Armed with ſuch various authorities, and poſſeſſing ſuch tranſcendant preheminence and privileges as I have deſcribed, it is not to be expected,

* It may not be improper to obſerve in this place, that the court of vice admiralty in the Colonies, by the iv of Geo. III. chap. 15, is inveſted with a concurrent juriſdiction with the courts of record, in caſes of forfeitures and penalties incurred by the breach of any act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the Britiſh colonies in America; and in proſecutions in this court, all queſtions, as well of fact as of law, are decided by the judge alone, without the intervention of a jury. The judge is nominated by the crown. The coloniſts complain with great reaſon of this law, as a direct violation and infringement of their beſt and deareſt conſtitutional rights.

BOOK VI. from the common fallibility of human nature, that every colony governor (placed at ſo great a diſtance from the mother country) ſhould, on every occaſion, *bear his faculties meekly*. Great caution is therefore undoubtedly neceſſary, on the part of a Britiſh miniſter, in the choice of perſons for a truſt of ſo great weight and dignity; the powers with which our plantation governors are inveſted being more extenſive than thoſe which the laws of England allow to the ſovereign himſelf. It is however a melancholy truth, that party merit, and connections, are commonly the moſt forcible recommendations with which a candidate for a diſtant government can preſent himſelf; and that perſons equally devoid of character, ability, and fortune, have ſometimes been ſent to preſide in our moſt important ſettlements, as if juſtice and public virtue were beſt adminiſtered and promoted by men moſt diſtinguiſhed for ignorance and profligacy, and that they would prove the beſt protectors of other people's fortunes, who, by vice and profuſion, had diſſipated their own!

In nominating to an office which is a conſtituent part of the legiſlature, which has power to controul the adminiſtration of executive juſtice, and, in moſt caſes, has the ſole exerciſe of the vaſt and extenſive juriſdiction appertaining to a court of equity, it might be ſuppoſed that a prudent miniſter, among other qualifications in the perſon ſelected, would conſider that ſome little knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of England is indiſpenſibly requiſite. It is remarkable, however, that the military profeſſions (which certainly are not eminent for ſuch kind of knowledge) are found to ſupply moſt of the gentlemen who are elevated to this high ſtation. It were unjuſt, at the ſame time, not to allow that ſome of theſe have

have acquitted themſelves in the civil department with extraordinary reputation and honor. Both the late Sir William Trelawney and Sir Baſil Keith, who ſucceſſively adminiſtered the government of Jamaica, were educated from early youth in the navy; yet poſſeſſing ſound judgments and upright intentions, their conduct as governors gave abundant ſatisfaction to the people of the colony, without incurring the diſapprobation of the crown; and their names will be remembered there with reverence, ſo long as worthy governors ſhall be numbered among the benefactors of mankind*. But theſe are rare inſtances; and it muſt generally

CHAP. I.

* Soon after the above was written, the inhabitants of Jamaica had the misfortune to loſe, in an untimely grave, their highly valued and moſt lamented governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, who was appointed captain general of that iſland in the beginning of 1790, and died in his government in October 1791. This nobleman was educated in the army; and, with the frankneſs and firmneſs of the ſoldier, poſſeſſed very extraordinary talents for civil employment.—His merit as Chancellor ſurpaſſed all that the warmeſt of his friends had predicted. He diſplayed a calmneſs of temper, and a clearneſs of conception, which the captious and ſubtle perplexities of forenſic argument could not diſturb or elude. His mind was ſtrong, quick, penetrating, ſound, and deciſive; but the prominent feature of his character, which diſplayed itſelf in all caſes and on every occaſion, was a manly and unſhaken intrepidity. He neither courted nor dreaded any man living; proceeding ſtrait forward in the plain path of his duty, without fear, favor, or affection.—At his firſt entrance into the government, his manners were thought ungracious; but his talents and virtues were ſoon happily experienced, and he then became the moſt popular of all governors. The Roman people diſplayed not greater affliction at the death of Germanicus, than was manifeſted by the inhabitants of Jamaica for the loſs of Lord Effingham. The aſſembly voted a magnificent funeral for the remains of his Lordſhip, and another for thoſe of the Counteſs of Effingham, who died a ſhort time before him. They likewiſe ordered a monument to be erected to perpetuate

BOOK VI. generally be admitted, that the appointment to high civil offices of men whoſe education and paſt purſuits have not given them opportunities of acquiring much acquaintance with the principles of our limited government, is a very dangerous experiment. Perſons of this claſs, with the pureſt intentions, are eaſily miſled by ſelfiſh and intereſted men, whom the conſciouſneſs of their own deficiencies

the memory of their virtues, and the author of this work had the honor of drawing up the inſcription thereon; which is as follows:

To the Memory of
THOMAS, Earl of EFFINGHAM, Baron Howard,
Captain-General and Chief Governor of this Iſland
in the years 1790 and 1791;
And of KATHERINE his Wife.
The latter, departed this life on the 13th day of
October, 1791,
In a voyage undertaken for the benefit of her health,
in his Majeſty's ſhip Diana:
The former, on the 19th of the following month,
The third week after the melancholy return of the Diana
with the remains of his beloved Conſort,
whom he ſeemed unwilling to ſurvive,
And with whom he was depoſited in the ſame grave.
Thus, united in their lives
by the moſt tender and exalted ties,—
He—the fond and indulgent Huſband,
She—the cheerful and obedient Wife,—
In their deaths they were not divided!

To perpetuate the remembrance
of ſo illuſtrious a pattern of conjugal affection:
To manifeſt the public ſenſe
of the many public and private virtues of their
reſpected Governor;
And to record, for the benefit of poſterity,
The clearneſs of that ſagacity,
The extent of that knowledge,
And the purity and firmneſs of that integrity,
which rendered his adminiſtration

The

ficiencies compels them to conſult.—Even while actuated by honeſt and laudable motives, they may violate irreparably the firſt principles of law and a free conſtitution, by eſtabliſhing fatal precedents which no integrity of intention can ſanctify. Mr. Stokes, the late chief juſtice of Georgia, relates that a governor of a province in North America (at that time a Britiſh colony) ordered the provoſt-marſhal to hang up a convict ſome days before the time appointed by his ſentence, and a rule of court for his execution. "He meant well, ſays Stokes, but, being a military man, conceived that as he had power to reprieve after ſentence, he had power to execute alſo when he pleaſed; and the criminal was actually hanged as the governor ordered, nor could his excellency be perſuaded, that, by this very act, he was himſelf committing felony." CHAP. I.

An anecdote not leſs curious than the former is related by the ſame author of another military governor, who, it ſeems, took it into his head to ſuſpend a gentleman from his ſeat in the council for no other reaſon than marrying his daughter without his conſent.

It may be ſaid, perhaps, that in theſe caſes the miſchief to the public, excluſive of the precedent, was not very great. I could produce, however, many an inſtance, in the conduct of governors, in which ſomething more would appear, I am afraid, than mere folly, and the ignorant miſap-

The boaſt and ſecurity of a grateful people,
The ASSEMBLY of JAMAICA,
having cauſed the remains of this noble and
lamented pair to be interred with funeral honours
at the public expence, the whole Houſe
attending each proceſſion as Mourners,
As a farther teſtimony of merited eſteem
Inſcribe this Monument.

plication

BOOK VI.

plication of authority. But the taſk is invidious, and I willingly decline it.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR AND PRESIDENT.

IN a government comprehending ſeveral iſlands, as the Leeward Charaibbean Iſland government, there is commonly appointed, together with the captain general or chief governor, a lieutenant general, who is next in ſucceſſion, and who is uſually lieutenant governor likewiſe of one of the iſlands included within the general government, each of which, in the abſence of the captain general from that particular iſland, has its affairs adminiſtered by a lieutenant governor, or the preſident of the council, moſt commonly the latter, as it is not often that the lieutenant governor is on the ſpot; this appointment, in fact, being nothing more than the grant of a penſion of 200*l.* a year, which is paid by the crown. In Jamaica it is ſeldom that a lieutenant governor is appointed during the reſidence on the iſland of a captain general, there being no eſtabliſhment or proviſion for ſuch an officer holding a dormant commiſſion; who has therefore neither power nor profit. He is not, as lieutenant governor, entitled even to a ſeat in the council. On the reſignation, or abſence on leave, of the captain general, a lieutenant governor, if not preſent, is frequently ſent over, who then ſucceeds to the ſupreme command, and receives the full emoluments of the government *.

Mr.

* The following inſtance of miniſterial œconomy may amuſe, but cannot ſurpriſe, my readers in the colonies.—

About

Mr. Long is of opinion that a preſident of the council, taking upon him the government on the demiſe or abſence of a governor or lieutenant governor, cannot legally diſſolve the houſe of aſſembly; nor iſſue writs for calling a new one; becauſe he has no expreſs commiſſion from the Sovereign under the great ſeal

About the year 1767, when the Earl of Shelburne was Secretary of State, an application was made to his lordſhip by ſome gentlemen of Jamaica, then reſiding in England, for a proviſion for a lieutenant governor, who ſhould reſide within the iſland at the ſame time with the captain general. The reaſon aſſigned was to prevent a devolution of the government to the preſident of the council. Lord Shelburne had no other objection to the meaſure than an unwillingneſs to ſaddle either the mother country or the colony with additional expence.—But finding, among other emoluments of the captain general, that he derived about 1000*l.* ſterling per annum from the command of a fortification at Port-Royal, called Fort Charles, and conceiving the other appointments of the chief governor to be ſufficiently liberal, his lordſhip ſtipulated with the next governor, Sir William Trelawney, that he ſhould reſign Fort Charles to Lieutenant Governor Dalling, on condition of reſidence. Thus were the wiſhes of the gentlemen gratified, and a proviſion made for a lieutenant governor, without expence either to Great Britain or Jamaica; and, conſidering withal that Sir William Trelawney was the miniſter's friend, the conduct of Lord Shelburne in the buſineſs was highly commendable, and bore the features of honour.—But mark the reſult. In the adminiſtration of Lord George Germain, General Dalling, by the demiſe of Sir William Trelawney, ſucceeded to the chief command: and the new miniſter, conſidering 1000*l.* per annum no deſpicable object, inſtead of continuing Fort Charles as a proviſion for a lieutenant governor, ſeized on it for his own uſe, and ſoon after aſſigned its profits over to one of his dependants, who has enjoyed it ever ſince. Thus the iſland ſuffers the ſame inconveniency it complained of before, with the burthen of providing 1000*l.* a year for a perſon who neither reſides within the iſland, nor has any other connection with it;—for the fort is generally commanded by his deputy's deputy, to whoſe very name, it is probable, the principal himſelf is a ſtranger.

of

BOOK VI. of Great Britain, giving authority for that purpoſe.

THE COUNCIL.

THE members of this board are ſeverally appointed by the Royal mandamus, directed to the governor and counterſigned by the ſecretary of ſtate, and the names of the ſeveral members for the time being are inſerted in the governor's inſtructions. In Jamaica their full complement is *twelve:* in ſome of the ſmaller iſlands *ten*, and in caſe of as many vacancies, by death, abſence or ſuſpenſion, as reduce the board under *ſeven*, the governor or commander in chief, is impowered to fill up to that number, but no further. Their privileges, powers, and offices are theſe:

Firſt: They are by courteſy ſeverally addreſſed, in the colonies, *Honourable;* they take precedency next to the commander in chief; and, on the death or abſence of the governor, lieutenant general, and lieutenant governor, the eldeſt member of the council ſucceeds to the government, under the title of *Preſident.*

Secondly: They are a council of ſtate, the governor or commander in chief preſiding in perſon, to whom they ſtand in the ſame relation as the privy council in Great Britain does to the Sovereign. But although every plantation governor is directed by his inſtructions to adviſe with his council on moſt occaſions, I do not know that, in his executive capacity, he is abſolutely bound to abide by their advice. I conceive that he is competent to act, in moſt caſes, not only *without*, but even *againſt*, their concurrence: he may, it is true, by ſo doing, incur the

the king's diſpleaſure; but his proceedings are nevertheleſs efficient and legal within the colony. CHAP. I.

Thirdly: They are named, in every commiſſion of the peace, as juſtices throughout the colony to which they belong.

Fourthly: The council, together with the commander in chief, ſit as judges in the court of error or court of appeal in civil cauſes from the courts of record; and in ſome of the iſlands two or more of the members ſit with the governor in the court of chancery, as aſſiſtant commiſſioners of the great ſeal, as I have elſewhere related; appeals from chancery therefore lie not before them, but are, by the king's order, avoked before his majeſty himſelf in council.

Fifthly: The council is a conſtituent part of the legiſlature; their conſent being neceſſary in the enacting of laws. In this capacity of legiſlators, they ſit as the upper houſe, and in moſt of the colonies, diſtinct from the governor; claim privilege of parliament, order the attendance of perſons, and the production of papers and records, and commit for contempts; enter proteſts on their journals after the manner of the houſe of peers, and have their chaplain, clerk, uſher of the black rod, &c. &c.

It has been thought ſtrange that one and the ſame body of men ſhould act in two ſuch different capacities and functions, as a privy council ſworn to ſecrecy and fidelity, and an upper houſe of legiſlature; "the admitting ſuch a diſtinction, ſays a late governor, may be ſuppoſed even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take as counſellors: becauſe their duty to the people, as legiſlators, may ſeem to oblige them very

BOOK VI. very frequently to ſupport opinions repugnant to a governor's ſchemes †.

But to this it may be anſwered, that, if the governor's ſchemes are, in the opinion of the council, repugnant to the true intereſts of the people, their oppoſition to ſuch ſchemes cannot be deemed a violation of their oath of fidelity, nor does it neceſſarily follow that they thereby divulge what they have ſworn to keep ſecret.

It appears to me, that the people at large reſiding within the colonies, have much more cauſe of apprehenſion than their governors, from the exiſtence and exerciſe of legiſlative authority, in ſo unſtable a body as the board in queſtion: For although its individual members ought to be, and I believe indeed commonly are, men of weight and property in their reſpective countries, yet a territorial qualification is not indiſpenſibly neceſſary to their appointment, as in the caſe of members choſen into the aſſembly. Perſons therefore *may be*, and I am afraid in former times *have been*, nominated to the council, who have no natural concern in the welfare of the colony, no community of intereſts with its inhabitants, and who conſider themſelves wholly at the governor's diſpoſal, and bound to ſupport all his meaſures, however incompatible with the general good. Again: From the power which the governors aſſume of arbitrarily inflicting the rod of ſuſpenſion, the board has not ſtability ſufficient to inſure reſpect to its reſolutions. It has neither ſtrength nor independency. Such of the members therefore as have property in the country, may perhaps ſometimes find themſelves in a

† This opinion of Governor Lyttelton is quoted more at large in the Hiſtory of Jamaica, by Mr. Long, vol. I. p. 156.

more

more diſagreeable predicament than even thoſe who have none; for they may be compelled to vote as a governor ſhall dictate, in ſupport, poſſibly, of meaſures ruinous to the community in which all their concerns are centered, or be expoſed to the affront of public degradation; to the conſequent malignant miſconſtructions of the vulgar; and perhaps to the contempt of their own minds, in having accepted a ſtation which ſubjects them to cenſure, for honeſtly diſcharging the duties of it. CHAP. I.

I do not indeed know that many great evils have actually been felt by the coloniſts at large, from the inefficiency and inſtability of this body. However, as it is the excellency of the Britiſh government, not merely to correct exiſting abuſes, but alſo to obviate and prevent (as far as human foreſight will permit) ſuch as may poſſibly or probably happen; many intelligent perſons have been led to controvert the claim of the council altogether to a participation in the legiſlature. They deny that this claim derives any juſt ſupport either from analogy to the conſtitution of the parent ſtate, from the royal delegation, or from any law of ſufficient comprehenſion and efficacy to warrant ſuch a pretenſion in a body ſo conſtituted.

The principal arguments which have been advanced in ſupport of this opinion, are to this effect:

The peers of Great Britain are hereditary members of the legiſlature, and ſit in parliament for the ſupport of their own great intereſts and inherent dignity, and as an intermediate body between the crown and the people. In civil proceſs their perſons are ſacred, and in criminal, they are tried by their own order. Neither can their

BOOK VI.

their privileges be taken from them but in extraordinary caſes, and then only by the ſentence of the whole houſe, as a court of the higheſt juriſdiction, or by an act of the whole legiſlature. The ſovereign, it is true, can create as many new peers as he pleaſes, but having once raiſed a ſubject to this high dignity, his privileges thenceforward, as a peer of parliament, are his own; founded, not only on royal conceſſions, but on the ancient fundamental conſtitution of the realm. Thus, the houſe of lords forms a ſeparate branch of the legiſlature, diſtinct from, and entirely independent of, the crown on the one hand, and the commons on the other. Now, in all theſe reſpects, it is maintained, that a colonial council has no conformity or ſimilitude with, and therefore could not originally have been intended to form a ſeparate eſtate, and ſupply in the colonies the place of, the houſe of peers of Great Britain.

It is contended further, that the power of the crown is not of itſelf ſufficiently extenſive to conſtitute ſuch a legiſlative branch, or ſeparate eſtate in the colonies. The king, it is true, has a negative in legiſlation, but the king has no right to propoſe a law to, or to alter a law propoſed by, the lords or commons. His power is the power of rejecting, and nothing more; which therefore is not ſo properly a legiſlative power, as a negative on the legiſlation of the other branches; a mere defenſive privilege to enable him to withſtand the encroachments of the legiſlature, and preſerve the government entire. As the king cannot confer on others what he poſſeſſes not himſelf, nothing leſs than a ſolemn and preciſely declaratory law, propoſed by the repreſentatives of the people, and confirmed by the crown, could, it is pretended,

tended, have given the ſhadow of authority to a colonial or provincial council to form themſelves into a diſtinct legiſlative eſtate. It follows, that their claim to legiſlative powers, thus unſupported, is uſurpation and tyranny. CHAP. I.

Theſe arguments, or arguments to the ſame effect, are urged with great ability in Mr. Long's Hiſtory of Jamaica. I ſhall not attempt to controvert them by elaborate diſcuſſion, but content myſelf with briefly ſtating the origin, *as it is in fact*, (according to my conception) of the pretenſions of this branch to a diſtinct ſhare in colonial legiſlation. If it be ſhewn that the exerciſe of theſe pretenſions may, on ſeveral occaſions, be abſolutely neceſſary to the welfare and ſafety of the community; a very few words will ſuffice on the queſtion of their conſtitutional legality.

That it was originally intended to eſtabliſh in any of the colonial governments *three* diſtinct independent legiſlative powers acting on the ſpot, in the view of forming conſtitutions on the model of England, I do not however believe; becauſe, while the crown retains its neceſſary and conſtitutional right of diſannulling all acts of the provincial legiſlatures, and while the privilege of giving a negative is likewiſe exerciſed by its governors in the colonies, independent of the council, there are *four* diſtinct eſtates inſtead of *three*. The caſe was, without doubt, that there being no order of hereditary nobility in the plantations, out of which to conſtitute a dignified and efficient intermediate body, like the peers of England and Ireland, a legiſlative authority was at an early period entruſted to the governors and their council, *acting conjointly*, and forming a middle branch between the crown on the one hand, and the

BOOK VI. the repreſentatives of the people on the other. The preſence and concurrence of the governor were probably thought adviſeable, in the view that the intereſts of the crown might generally preponderate; while by ſelecting the members of the council from men of the firſt conſequence in each colony, it was perhaps conceived that a ſalutary check was contrived againſt thoſe abuſes to which power, in the beſt hands, is ſometimes liable; and on this plan the colonies poſſeſſed the ſemblance, at leaſt, of an Engliſh legiſlative conſtitution *.

That ſuch was the firſt intention in the formation of all or moſt of the king's governments in the plantations (imperfect as the ſyſtem confeſſedly is, from the inſtability of the council) appears from the inſtance of Barbadoes, where this arrangement ſtill exiſts; the governor and council, in matters of legiſlation, conſtituting, not *two* ſeparate and diſtinct bodies, independent of each other, but *one* conſtituent branch only, ſitting and deliberating together.—And ſuch too, for ſome years, was the practice of Jamaica, and, I believe, of all or moſt of the reſt of the royal governments; but as it ſometimes became neceſſary to reject popular bills, the governor, to divert the diſpleaſure of the aſſembly from himſelf to the council, declined by degrees attending on ſuch occaſions; leaving it to the board to ſettle matters with the aſſembly as they could, without his interference. The council concurred, readily enough, in the governor's views, becauſe his abſence, re-

* Every governor is expreſsly inſtructed to tranſmit from time to time to his Majeſty the names of ſuch of the principal inhabitants as are beſt qualified to ſupply vacancies in the council, and it is rarely that any perſon is appointed who is not previouſly recommended by the governor.

moving

moving a reſtraint, gave them the ſemblance of a diſtinct independent eſtate; and the crown, perceiving the utility and advantage of the meaſure, confirmed and eſtabliſhed the practice by degrees in moſt of the royal governments throughout the Britiſh plantations. If the people's repreſentatives had conſidered this excluſive interpoſition of the council as an innovation, *then* was their time to have oppoſed it; but it has not appeared to me that the aſſembly of any one colony, at any one period, denied a right in the council to negative bills in the firſt inſtance, without the governor's conſent or participation. Now the right in the council to reject bills altogether in the firſt inſtance, neceſſarily comprehending the privilege of offering amendments to particular clauſes, (money bills are always, and very properly, excepted) the exerciſe of which privilege is, in truth, nothing more than an offer of compromiſe between the council and aſſembly. The former may ſay, "we propoſe ſuch and ſuch amendments; adopt them, or we uſe our power of rejection." And this I take to be the plain origin and actual riſe of the privileges enjoyed, I believe, by the council-board in every Britiſh colony in the Weſt Indies (Barbadoes excepted) of deliberating apart from the governor on all bills ſent up by the aſſembly; of propoſing amendments to ſuch bills, and of rejecting altogether, and without any participation with the governor, ſuch of them as they diſapprove. Further than this, I do not know that the legiſlative authority of the council extends, and I have no heſitation in pronouncing the exerciſe of *ſuch* an authority, when enforced freely and independently, a moſt neceſſary and uſeful expedient, tending to prevent violent and miſchievous diſputes between the delegates of the people,

CHAP. I.

BOOK VI. people, and the repreſentatives of the crown. Its origin may have been illegitimate; but its adoption in the colonies for a century at leaſt, and recognition by the crown, have given it ſuch a preſcriptive eſtabliſhment, as I conceive conſtitutes law *.

After all, the objections which have been made to the preſent conſtitution of this body, ariſing from its want of ſufficient ſtability and independence, are of an important and ſerious nature.—Men are very unfit for legiſlators, whoſe deliberations are liable to be biaſſed by external and improper influence. If, on ſome occaſions, they are inſtruments of good, on others they may prove inſtruments of great evil. Yet I am willing to hope that even this inconvenience might find its remedy, if the colonial aſſemblies would take the ſubject into ſerious and temperate conſideration. Were it required by law that no perſon ſhould be appointed of the council who was not poſſeſſed of a landed eſtate within the colony to ſome given value, as an indiſpenſible qualification, ſo that the private intereſts of the members might be blended with thoſe of every other citizen, and were the terrors of ſuſpenſion, which, like the ſword of Damocles, hangs but by a thread, removed from them, they would become a reſpectable and moſt uſeful body †. At the ſame time, it

* In truth the colonies gained a very important acquiſition by this ſeparation of the governor and council from each other in matters of legiſlation, for, obtaining by this means the ſemblance of three diſtinct eſtates, it enabled them the more eaſily to ſecure the privilege which they claimed, that their laws ſhould be immediately in force as ſoon as conſented to by the governor, without waiting for the royal confirmation.

† There ariſes, however, ſome difficulty in conſidering this point. While the council are liable to be ſuſpended at the will

it will behoove the repreſentatives of the people, in an eſpecial manner, to keep in their own hands, undiminiſhed and unimpaired, as a ſacred depoſit, the great and excluſive privilege of granting or withholding the ſupplies. If the council, independent of the governor and the people, ſhall once poſſeſs themſelves of the ſmalleſt ſhare in this moſt important of all popular rights, they will become, from that moment, a ſtanding ſenate, and an inſolent ariſtocracy.

will of an arbitrary and capricious governor (and I remember an inſtance in Jamaica, of ſeven members being ſuſpended in one day, on a very frivolous pretence) their authority is very lightly regarded, and ſometimes they are even treated with contempt and inſult. On the other hand, if they were appointed *for life*, they might, in their legiſlative capacity, become formidable both to the king's repreſentative and the people. They might obſtruct the ſupplies for no better reaſon than to get a new governor. I am of opinion, therefore, that they ſhould ſtill be amovable, but, in order to give them greater weight than they poſſeſs at preſent, they ſhould be amovable only by the king's expreſs order, in conſequence of a joint addreſs from the commander in chief and the houſe of aſſembly.—Their preſent conſtitution certainly requires ſome correction and amendment; the more ſo, as in ſome of the colonies they have ſet up pretenſions of a very wide and extraordinary nature. They have, at different times, claimed and exerciſed the power of arbitrarily impriſoning for contempt, and formerly even for fines laid by their own authority. They have claimed a right of originating public bills at their board, and even of amending money bills paſſed by the aſſembly. They have alſo claimed the right of appropriating the public revenue, &c. &c. All theſe, and other pretenſions, are equally inconſiſtent with their original appointment of a *council of aſſiſtants* to the governor, and with the tenure by which they at preſent exiſt, and ought to be conſtantly and firmly reſiſted by the people's repreſentatives.

CHAP. II*.

Houſes of Aſſembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of eſtabliſhing in the Colonies Conſtitutions leſs free than that of Great Britain.—Moſt of the Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands ſettled by Emigrants from the Mother Country.—Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and ſome other Iſlands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legiſlatures how conſtituted, and the Extent of their Juriſdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependance on, the Crown of Great Britain, how ſecured.—Conſtitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them.

BOOK VI.

IN treating of the aſſemblies, or popular branch in the local ſyſtem of colonial adminiſtration, I ſhall firſt attempt to inveſtigate the origin of the claim of the coloniſts to legiſlate for themſelves, by means of thoſe aſſemblies, and to diſplay the principles on which this claim was confirmed by the mother country. Afterwards, I ſhall enquire by what

* In this chapter, the nature and neceſſary uniformity of my work, compel me to tread over a field wherein the footſteps of a great many preceding writers are ſtill viſible. I preſume not therefore to fancy that I can produce many new arguments myſelf, or give additional weight to thoſe which have been advanced by others, on ſubjects ſo well underſtood, and ſo frequently and freely canvaſſed during the late unhappy diſputes with America. My aim will be anſwered, if, inſtead of originality and novelty, I am found to poſſeſs perſpicuity and preciſion. Happily, the great rights of mankind are ſufficiently apparent, without the aid of logical deduction, and abſtracted hypotheſis.

means

means their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and profitable ſubordination to the Britiſh parliament, is ſecured and maintained. CHAP. II.

From the arguments that have been urged in the latter part of the preceding chapter, concerning a prerogative in the crown to inveſt the colonial council boards with ſome ſhare of legiſlative authority, I truſt it will not follow that the Engliſh conſtitution has at any time lodged in the king the ſtill greater prerogative of eſtabliſhing in the Britiſh dependencies, ſuch a form and ſyſtem of government as his majeſty ſhall think beſt. It is ſurely one thing to ſay, that the crown may introduce into the plantations ſuch checks and controuls as are congenial to thoſe inſtitutions by which freedom is beſt ſecured in the mother country, and another to aver that the crown may withhold from the colonies the enjoyment of freedom altogether. Nevertheleſs, were the maxim well founded, that the prerogative of the crown in arranging the ſyſtem of colonial eſtabliſhments is unlimited, no concluſion could be drawn from it that would impeach, in the ſmalleſt degree, the claim of the Britiſh coloniſts in America to a Britiſh conſtitution; inaſmuch as the ſovereign, repreſenting the whole nation, repeatedly recognized in the firſt ſettlers and their poſterity, by various ſolemn grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, the ſame liberties, privileges, and immunities which were poſſeſſed and enjoyed by their fellow ſubjects remaining in Great Britain.

I know not, indeed, that thoſe grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, were eſſentially neceſſary to freedom; for if, as I preſume I have ſufficiently demonſtrated on a former occaſion *,

* Book III. c. 2.

BOOK VI.

even a conquered ſtate, retaining its ancient inhabitants, no ſooner becomes ceded to Great Britain, than it is aſſimilated to its government, and imbibes the ſpirit of its free conſtitution;— if this, as I contend, is the law of England, it requires but little argument to prove that Engliſh ſubjects, whether ſettling in countries which their valour has annexed to the Britiſh dominion, or emigrating for the purpoſe of forming plantations on vacant or derelict lands, are entitled *of right*, ſo long as they preſerve their allegiance, to at leaſt an equal degree of national protection, with adopted aliens and vanquiſhed enemies. Some of our poſſeſſions in America and the Weſt Indies (Jamaica in particular, as we have ſeen) were obtained by the forces of the ſtate; the individuals of which became proprietors of the country which they had conquered. Other countries, as Barbadoes and Antigua, were found vacant and unoccupied, and were made valuable appendages to Great Britain, by the enterprizing ſpirit and at the ſole expence of a few private adventurers. Even where the lands were forcibly taken from the ancient Indian inhabitants, though nothing can ſanctify injuſtice, yet the Engliſh title is unimpeachable by any other European power; and the Engliſh nation has received the benefit of the enterprize. Shall it then (to uſe an excellent and unanſwerable argument of Mr. Long on this ſubject)* ſhall it be affirmed, 'that if Engliſh 'forces conquer, or Engliſh adventurers poſſeſs 'themſelves of diſtant lands, and thereby extend 'the empire, and add to the trade and opulence 'of England; the Engliſhmen ſo poſſeſſing and 'planting ſuch territory, ought, in conſideration

* Hiſt. Jamaica.

'of

'of the great ſervices thereby effected to their nation, to be treated worſe than aliens, to forfeit all the rights of Engliſh ſubjects, and to be left to the mercy of an abſolute and arbitrary form of government?' Nothing ſurely can equal the abſurdity of ſo ſavage a doctrine*!

CHAP. II.

Conſidering, therefore, the further diſcuſſion of this point as ſuperfluous, I come to the concluſion which neceſſarily reſults from the premiſes, and

* "Let us conſider (ſays Mr. Locke) a conqueror in a lawful war, and ſee what power he gets, and over whom.

"Firſt, he gets no power by his conqueſt over thoſe that conquered with him. They that fought on his ſide cannot ſuffer by the conqueſt, but muſt at leaſt be as much freemen as they were before. And moſt commonly, they ſerve upon terms, and on condition to ſhare with their leader, and enjoy a part of the ſpoil, and other advantages that attend the conquering ſword: or, at leaſt, have a part of the ſubdued country beſtowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be ſlaves by conqueſt, and wear their laurels only to ſhew they are ſacrifices to their leader's triumph. We are told by ſome, that the Engliſh monarchy is founded in the Norman conqueſt, and that our princes have thereby a title to abſolute dominion; which, if it were true (as by hiſtory it appears otherwiſe) and that William had a right to make war on this iſland, yet his dominion by conqueſt could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons, that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him, and helped to conquer, and all deſcended from them, are freemen, and no ſubjects by conqueſt; let that give what dominion it will."

So far Mr. Locke—His friend and correſpondent Mr. Mollyneux, of Dublin, in his Treatiſe of the Caſe of Ireland's being bound by Engliſh Acts of Parliament, repeats the ſame argument, and illuſtrates it as follows: "Suppoſing (he obſerves) that Hen. II. had a right to invade Ireland, and that he had been oppoſed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the ancient race of the Iriſh that could ſuffer by this ſubjugation; the Engliſh and Britons, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free-born ſubjects: they, and their deſcendants, could not in reaſon loſe theſe for being ſucceſsful and victorious; for ſo, the ſtate of both conquerors and conquered ſhall be equally ſlaviſh."

it

BOOK VI.

it appears to me to be clear and uncontrovertible, that the royal proclamations and charters which guaranteed and confirmed to the firſt planters, emigrating to America and the Weſt Indies, all the liberties, franchiſes, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were, and were meant to be, *declaratory only of ancient rights; not creative of new privileges.* They were nothing more than royal recognitions, expreſſive of a reciprocal relation between the ſovereign and his ſubjects, notwithſtanding their removal, conveying the conſent of the king, as head and repreſentative of the Engliſh ſtate, to their emigration; and aſſuring them, expreſsly, or by evident implication, ſo long as they preſerved their allegiance, the full and undiſturbed enjoyment of thoſe inherent rights, which no climate nor compact can take away or diminiſh.

Such, I conceive, was the ground on which the firſt Engliſh coloniſts claimed, amongſt other rights, the great and important one of aſſenting to all laws by which they were to be bound; or, to ſpeak ſomewhat more ſuitably to the actual ſituation of the people of England, of being bound by ſuch laws only, as in their operation, ſhould extend to, *and bind the governors equally with the governed; the framers equally with all the reſt of the kingdom* *; and hence, the eſtabliſhment

* By the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution, every man ſhould be repreſented; but the deviation from a rule too nice for practice is ſafely borne, becauſe the intereſt of every particular member of parliament ſtands as a pledge, that no individual in the kingdom can be oppreſſed. In other words, the great ſecurity which the people of Great Britain have, that their repreſentatives ſhall not abuſe their truſt, is, *that they cannot impoſe on others what they are not to feel themſelves.* 'If

ment in all the Britiſh provinces of North America, and iſlands of the Weſt Indies, of aſſemblies, or houſes of repreſentatives, which, being freely choſen by the people, forming a part of, and living among the people, and occaſionally to be reſolved into the general maſs, muſt neceſſarily participate, with a tender intereſt, in every thing that concerns the people. CHAP. II.

Perhaps, inſtead of confirming to the coloniſts this liberal ſyſtem of ſelf-government, it was, or might have been contended on the part of the crown, that the permiſſion of returning repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament, was all that, on their own principles, they could pretend to claim; and the examples of Durham and Cheſter might have been adduced in ſupport of this argument. Thoſe counties being counties palatine, had complained, that, "for lack of knights and burgeſſes, they were touched and grieved with acts and ſtatutes made within the court of parliament;" and they pleaded that acts and ſtatutes ſo made, "were derogatory unto their moſt ancient juriſdictions, liberties, and privileges." Their plea was allowed, and parliamentary repreſentation granted them. It is obſervable too, that Barbadoes and the Charaibean Iſlands, as well as ſome provinces of North America, were at firſt created into counties palatine, expreſsly after the model of Durham. But the king and parliament probably thought, what all who duly conſider the ſubject muſt *now* think, that a parliamentary union with a kingdom three thouſand miles diſ-

an act of parliament was made (ſays Judge Hobart) conſtituting a man a judge in his own cauſe, it would be void by the law of nature.' See an excellent ſpeech of George Johnſtone, Eſquire, in the Parliamentary Debates for 1775, wherein this argument is enforced.

tant,

BOOK VI.

tant, was impracticable to any good purpoſe. It is moſt certain, that the Britiſh parliament, from firſt to laſt, conſented that the king ſhould govern his ſubjects in America (ſo far at leaſt as related to their own internal concerns) as he governed his ſubjects in Ireland, by parliaments of their own. Nor, if the election of repreſentatives is "an original right, veſted in, and inſeparable from the freehold," as it hath been pronounced by the higheſt authority *; and if the impracticability of the coloniſts being adequately repreſented in the Britiſh legiſlature be admitted, could ſuch a conſent be with-held from them on any principle of reaſon and juſtice; unleſs indeed it be reaſonable and juſt to contend, that the coloniſts, as having, from their remote ſituation, need of *greater* protection than their fellow-ſubjects at home, are on that account entitled to *leſs*.

Provincial parliaments, or colonial aſſemblies (it matters not by what name they are called) being thus eſtabliſhed and recognized, we ſhall find that in their formation, mode of proceeding, and extent of juriſdiction within their own circle, they have conſtantly copied, and are required to copy, as nearly as circumſtances will admit, the example of the parliament of Great Britain. The freeholders are aſſembled in each town or pariſh reſpectively by the king's writ; their ſuffrages are taken by an officer of the crown, and the perſons elected are afterwards commanded, by royal proclamation, to meet together at a certain time and place in the proclamation named, to frame ſtatutes and ordinances for the public ſafety. When met, the oaths of allegiance, &c. are adminiſtered unto each of them; and a ſpeaker be-

* Lord Chief Juſtice Holt.

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ing choſen and approved, the ſeſſion opens by a ſpeech from the king's repreſentative. The aſſembly then proceed, as a grand provincial inqueſt, to hear grievances, and to correct ſuch public abuſes as are not cognizable before inferior tribunals.—They commit for contempts, and the courts of law have refuſed, after ſolemn argument, to diſcharge perſons committed by the ſpeaker's warrant.—They examine and controul the accounts of the public treaſurer;—they vote ſuch ſupplies, lay ſuch taxes, and frame ſuch laws, ſtatutes, and ordinances, as the exigencies of the province or colony require.—Jointly with the governor and council, they exerciſe the higheſt acts of legiſlation; for their penal laws, which the judges are ſworn to execute, extend even to life; many perſons having ſuffered death under laws paſſed in the colonies, even before they had received the royal aſſent. On the whole, ſubject to the reſtriction that their trade laws are not repugnant to thoſe of Great Britain, there are no concerns of a local and provincial nature, to which the authority of the colonial laws does not extend *.

CHAP. II.

This

* The following proceedings of the legiſlature of Jamaica in 1766, while it illuſtrates this part of my ſubject, cannot fail to prove highly intereſting to every inhabitant of the Britiſh colonies.

To his honour ROGER HOPE ELLETSON, Eſquire, his Majeſty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief, in and over this his Majeſty's iſland of Jamaica, &c. &c.

The humble Addreſs of the Aſſembly.

May it pleaſe your honour,

'We, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the 'aſſembly of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your honour's 'readineſs to hear, and inclination to redreſs, as much as in 'you lies, every grievance that may affect any of his majeſty's 'ſubjects,

BOOK VI.

This reſtriction was intended probably as an auxiliary to other means for preſerving the unity of the empire, and maintaining the ſuperintending and controuling power of the mother country in

'ſubjects, beg leave to repreſent to you one which calls aloud 'for immediate relief, it being in itſelf of the moſt dangerous 'and alarming nature, and having already given birth to ſuch 'confuſions and diſtractions in this unhappy country, as have 'not at any time before been known in it.

'Our anceſtors, Sir, who ſettled this Britiſh colony, were 'Engliſhmen, and brought with them a right to the laws of 'England as their inheritance, which they did not, nor could 'forfeit by ſettling here. Ever ſince civil government was 'firſt eſtabliſhed among us, which was very ſoon after the re-'ſtoration of King Charles the Second, we have enjoyed in 'this colony a conſtitution and form of government as nearly 'reſembling that of our mother country as it was perhaps 'poſſible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our proper-'ties, ſecured to us by the ſame laws, have ever been deter-'mined and adjudged by ſimilar juriſdictions, and ſuch monies 'as have been neceſſary for the ſupport of his majeſty's go-'vernment here, have, as in England, ever been raiſed upon 'the people with their own conſent given by their repreſenta-'tives in aſſembly; our courts of juſtice, where life, liberty, 'and property are adjudged, are governed by the ſame laws, 'and ſtand in the ſame degrees of ſubordination to one ano-'ther, as the courts which they reſpectively ſtand for, do in 'England; our houſe of aſſembly, as repreſenting the whole 'body of our people, does, and ever did, hold the ſame rank 'in the ſyſtem of our conſtitution, as the houſe of commons 'does in that of our mother country; here, as in England, 'our repreſentatives in aſſembly are the grand inqueſt of our 'community; they have the power, and it is their duty to 'enquire into the corruptions of office, the abuſes of govern-'ment, and the ill adminiſtration of juſtice, and for that pur-'poſe it is that this body has here, as in our mother country, 'ever enjoyed a ſuperiority over all the courts of juſtice, and 'a power of examining their conduct; and all judges, magiſ-'trates, and public officers, have ever been amenable to the 'aſſembly, and their conduct liable to its inſpection; and 'here, as in England, we owe it to the wholeſome and fre-'quent exertions of ſuch a power in the repreſentative body of 'the people, that we are at this day a free people; without it

'we

in matters of trade; but it implies alſo a reciprocal engagement or obligation on the part of the Britiſh parliament, not to interpoſe its authority in matters to which the colonial aſſemblies are ſufficiently CHAP. II.

'we can have no ſecurity or defence againſt the corruption of 'judges, and the abuſes which may happen in every depart-'ment of adminiſtration.

'It is againſt a moſt flagrant, unprovoked, and unprece-'dented attack and violation which Mr. Lyttelton, our late 'chancellor, made upon this indubitable right of the people, 'that we now reſort to your honour for redreſs.

'In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil, 'two men who had been committed by the aſſembly for breach 'of privilege, and were in cuſtody of Edward Bolt, the meſ-'ſenger of the houſe, by virtue of the ſpeaker's warrant, 'did, in contempt of the power and juriſdiction of the houſe, 'apply in the firſt inſtance to Mr. Lyttelton as chancellor, for 'writs of Habeas Corpus upon the ſtatute of the thirty-firſt 'of Charles the Second, and upon the return of the ſaid 'writs, he did, in a Court of Chancery which he called for 'that purpoſe, releaſe the priſoners, and declare as follows; "That it did not appear to him from the words of any act of "parliament, or of any act of the governor, council, and "aſſembly of this iſland, or of his majeſty's commiſſion or in-"ſtructions to his excellency as governor of this iſland, or by "any other means whatſoever, that the commitment of the "ſaid Pierce Cooke into the cuſtody of the ſaid Edward Bolt "is legal; and his excellency the chancellor was therefore "pleaſed to order, adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby order-"ed, adjudged, and decreed, That the ſaid Pierce Cooke be, "by the authority of this court, releaſed and diſcharged from "the cuſtody of the ſaid Edward Bolt; and did alſo make "the ſame declaration and order as to the ſaid Lachlan "M'Neil," which orders and declarations of his, he did 'moſt irregularly call decrees, and order them to be enrolled 'among the records of the Court of Chancery.

'It is evident from the opinions of the ableſt lawyers in 'England, ever ſince the paſſing of that ſtatute, from the opi-'nions and declarations of judges, the uniform determinations 'of all the courts in England, and the conſtant declarations 'and practice of the houſe of commons, that the ſaid ſtatute 'was not, nor could be intended to extend to commitments 'by either houſe of parliament, and that the houſe of com-

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BOOK VI. ſufficiently competent. With powers ſo extenſive and efficient, theſe aſſemblies muſt neceſſarily be ſovereign and ſupreme within their own juriſdiction; unobſtructed by, and independent of all controul

'mons is the only proper judge of its own privileges and commitments; this determination of Mr. Lyttelton's, tends 'therefore manifeſtly to degrade the repreſentatives of the 'people, in the ſyſtem of our conſtitution, from that rank 'and authority which is held by the like body in our mother 'country, and if ſuffered to remain, would ſubvert the fundamentals of that ſyſtem, by giving the Court of Chancery a 'power to controul the proceedings of the aſſembly, and by 'reducing them to a dangerous and unconſtitutional dependence upon governors, would leave the people without that 'protection againſt arbitrary power, which nothing but a free 'and independent aſſembly can give them.

'Every court of juſtice, from the meaneſt quarter ſeſſion, 'up to the two houſes of parliament, has a power of committing for contempt, and this power requires no act of parliament to confer it, it being incident to the inſtitution of 'every court of juſtice, and neceſſary for its exiſtence, for it 'would be impoſſible to ſupport any authority without it.

'The courts of juſtice here, ſtanding in the ſame degrees 'of ſubordination to one another, as they reſpectively do in 'England; commitments by the inferior, may be, and frequently are, examined and determined by the ſuperior courts; 'and as commitments by the houſe of commons cannot be, 'nor ever were, diſcharged by any of the inferior courts, ſo 'this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttelton ſtands in our country without a precedent, ſuch a thing having never before his 'time been attempted.

'The power of commitment by the houſe of commons is 'their's by the common law, as well as their privileges, of 'which they are the only competent judges, for they judge of 'theſe matters by the law and uſage of parliament, which is 'part of the common law.

'As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exerciſe the ſame 'powers with thoſe they ſtand for in England, it is ſurely reaſonable and juſt that the repreſentatives of the people here, 'called by the ſame authority, and conſtituted for the ſame 'ends, ſhould alſo enjoy the ſame powers with thoſe of Great 'Britain.

'We beg leave to repreſent further to your honour, that by 'the thirty-firſt clauſe of an act of the governor, council, and 'aſſembly

controul from without; for nothing can be more absurd than to suppose, that a people can be subject to two different legislatures, exercising at the same time equal powers, yet not communicating with

CHAP. II.

'assembly of this island, intituled, "An act for granting a 'revenue to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, for the 'support of the government of this island, and for reviving 'and perpetuating the acts and laws thereof," which has received the royal approbation, it is declared, "That all such 'laws and statutes of England as have been at any time 'esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in 'this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue 'laws of this his majesty's island of Jamaica for ever;" and 'that the assemblies of Jamaica, as appears by their minutes, 'considering it their duty to assimilate their proceedings to 'those of the house of commons, have constantly governed 'themselves in cases of commitment, and in the exercise of 'their jurisdiction, by the law and usage of parliament, which 'being undoubtedly part of the law of England, the use and 'benefit thereof was confirmed to them by virtue of the above 'act beyond a possibility of doubt.

'This arbitrary measure of Mr. Lyttelton, so totally unprecedented either in England or here, so repugnant to reason, 'to justice, and law, and so evidently subversive of our rights, 'liberties, and properties, will therefore, we doubt not, be 'considered by your honour as it deserves to be; and as it 'marks that gentleman's administration with the most odious 'colours, so, we trust, that the destruction of it will distinguish and adorn your's.

'It is in full confidence of your honour's justice and love of 'liberty, that we this day, in the name and behalf of ourselves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before 'your honour, the ill consequences and injustice of the aforesaid determination, and beseech you, as the only means of 'quieting the disturbance and apprehensions they have raised 'in the minds of his majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, 'to give orders that the same be vacated, and the enrolment 'thereof cancelled from the records of the court of Chancery, 'in such a way, that no traces may remain of so wicked and 'dangerous a precedent.

'Passed the assembly the second day of July, 1766.'

The preceding application from the house of assembly having been submitted by the lieutenant governor to the council

BOOK VI. with each other, nor, from their ſituation, capable of being privy to each other's proceedings.

It has, I know, been urged, that the principles I have thus laid down, and the rights which I have

council for their advice, the board addreſſed him as follows:

The humble Addreſs of the Council.

'May it pleaſe your honour,

'We, his majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the 'council of Jamaica, have, agreeably to your honour's 'meſſage, laying before us the addreſs of the houſe of aſſem-'bly to your honour, taken into our ſerious conſideration the 'ſubject-matter thereof: we have alſo examined and conſider-'ed the proceedings now in the office of the regiſter of the 'Court of Chancery, and the determination of his excellency 'the late chancellor, touching the releaſe of Pierce Cooke 'and Lachlan M'Neil, from a commitment of the aſſembly. 'Although we have the moſt favourable opinion of the late 'chancellor's intention in that deciſion, yet finding that no 'chancellor or judge in this iſland, ever before took upon himſelf 'to make any determination upon a warrant or commitment of 'either branch of the legiſlature, it is with concern, we ob-'ſerve, that ſuch proceeding of the late chancellor in ſo new, 'in ſo delicate a caſe, by diſcharging the ſaid Pierce Cooke 'and Lachlan M'Neil from the commitment of the houſe of 'aſſembly, was unprecedented and irregular.

'It is alſo with ſorrow of heart we have ſeen and felt this 'his majeſty's colony, ever ſince that determination, labour-'ing under a variety of diſtreſſes, flowing chiefly from the 'apprehenſions of his majeſty's ſubjects, that the eſtabliſhing 'a precedent of this nature in the Court of Chancery, might 'lay a foundation for chancellors and judges of inferior courts 'to interfere in, and to take upon them to determine on the 'privileges of the legiſlative bodies of this iſland.

'Permit us therefore to recommend it to your honour, as 'the only expedient which we conceive will be effectual to 'quiet the minds of the people, to unite the ſeveral branches 'of the legiſlature, and to reſtore peace and tranquillity to 'this country, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the ſaid deter-'mination made by the late chancellor, whereby the ſaid 'Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Neil were diſcharged from 'their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, to be

'brought

have allotted to the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies, tend immediately to ſovereign and national empire, diſtinct from, and independent of, the government of the parent ſtate. It will be found, however,

CHAP. II.

'brought before you, and in the preſence of the council and 'aſſembly, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the regiſter of the 'ſaid court of Chancery to enter a vacatur on the ſaid deter-'mination, or otherwiſe reverſe it in the moſt effectual manner, 'ſo that the ſame may not be made uſe of as a precedent in 'future.'

On receiving this addreſs, the lieutenant governor came into council, and having commanded the attendance of the houſe in the council chamber, was pleaſed to make the following ſpeech:

'Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen 'of the Aſſembly,

'In conſequence of the addreſſes I have received from each 'of your bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determina-'tion upon record in the office of the regiſter of the Court of 'Chancery, appears to have been irregular and unprecedent-'ed, whereby the minds of the people have been greatly diſ-'quieted, and many diſtreſſes and evils have ariſen to this 'country; and having nothing ſo much at heart, as the ſup-'porting the honour and dignity of the crown, and promoting 'the peace and happineſs of the people, I have, agreeably to 'your requeſts, taken, as chancellor, ſuch order therein, that 'the ſaid proceedings, and the entry upon record thereof, are 'vacated, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes 'whatſoever; and for your further ſatisfaction herein, I have 'ordered the regiſter to attend forthwith in the council cham-'ber with the ſaid proceeding, and the book of records in 'which the ſame are entered, and that he do, in preſence of 'the three branches of the legiſlature of this iſland, enter a 'vacatur in the margent of the ſaid ſeveral proceedings, and 'the entries of the ſame in the ſaid book of records, and that 'he do in your preſence draw croſs lines over the ſaid pro-'ceedings and the entries thereof, in the uſual form and 'manner.

'This meaſure, adopted upon your united recommenda-'tion, cannot, I am perſuaded, fail of producing every happy 'conſequence, by reſtoring and firmly eſtabliſhing that har-'mony and unanimity ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, and ſo eſſentially 'neceſſary

BOOK VI. however, that the dependency of the colonies on, and their allegiance to, the crown of Great Britain, and alſo their proper ſubordination to the Britiſh parliament, are ſecured by ſufficient ties, regulations, and reſtraints; ſome of which ſeem at firſt inconſiſtent even with the premiſes I have ſtated. Thus, as to the ſupremacy of the crown; among various other prerogatives, the king reſerves to himſelf, not only the nomination of the ſeveral governors, the members of the council, and moſt of the public officers of all deſcriptions †, but he poſſeſſes alſo at the ſame time, as we have ſeen, the right of diſallowing and rejecting all laws and ſtatutes of the colonial aſſemblies, even after they have received the aſſent and approbation of his own lieutenant in the colony. Hence the affirma-

' neceſſary to his majeſty's ſervice, and the welfare of this ' community.'

The regiſter of the Court of Chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the ſeveral proceedings in the ſaid addreſs mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the preſence of his honour, and in the preſence of the council and aſſembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the ſaid ſeveral proceedings, and draw croſs lines over the ſaid proceedings and the entries thereof, and cancelled the ſeveral papers relating thereto.

☞ It was after a long and arduous ſtruggle, that the people of Jamaica obtained this great victory; no leſs than five different aſſemblies having been called, and abruptly diſſolved, becauſe they refuſed to raiſe the ſupplies, unleſs ſatisfaction was given them in this buſineſs; at length, on a change of miniſters in Great Britain, the Governor (Mr. Lyttelton) was recalled, and the lieutenant governor directed to comply with their wiſhes, in the manner we have ſeen.

† This is ſpoken of thoſe colonies which are called king's governments; for, before the late civil war, the governor, in a proprietary government, was named by the proprietor, ſubject to the reſtrictions contained in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. §. 6. and in two of the charter provinces of North America, all the officers, except thoſe of the admiralty and cuſtoms, were choſen by the people.

tive

tive voice of the people in their repreſentatives, is oppoſed by three negatives; the firſt in the council, the ſecond in the governor, and the third in the crown; which poſſeſſes likewiſe the power of puniſhing the two former branches by diſmiſſion, if they preſume to act in contradiction to the royal pleaſure. CHAP. II.

Not is the regal authority leſs efficient and extenſive over the executive power within the colonies, than over the legiſlative. The governor, as I have ſhewn, is commonly chancellor by his office; but whether aſſiſted by his council, or preſiding ſolely in this high department, an appeal lies to the king in council, in the nature of a writ of error, from every decree that he makes; and the like liberty of appeal is allowed from the judgment or ſentence of the governor in council, ſitting as a court of error *. The reaſon aſſigned in law authorities for allowing ſuch appeals is this:—That without them, the rules and practice of law in the colonies might by degrees inſenſibly deviate from thoſe of the mother country, to the diminution of her ſuperiority †.

Again: the king, as ſupreme head of the empire, has the ſole prerogative of making peace

* It is neceſſary however in either court, firſt, That in caſes of property the matter in diſpute ſhould be to the value of £.500 ſterling, to be aſcertained by affidavit. Secondly, That the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment in the court of error, and within one month after the determination of the court of chancery, by giving ſecurity for the proſecution of it; and it is required by the lords of appeal in England, that the party appealing muſt proceed within twelve months after the appeal is allowed in the plantations, or the appeal is diſmiſſed of courſe. A cauſe cannot be tranſmitted for difficulty, but muſt be determined one way or other.

† Vaughan's Reports 402. Show. Parl. C. 83.

BOOK VI. and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign ſtates; and the coloniſts are as fully bound by, and ſubject to, the conſequences thereof, as the inhabitants within the realm. So far is readily admitted; but another claim of the crown, ſuppoſed to reſult from the prerogative laſt mentioned—I mean, that of regulating all the colonial military eſtabliſhments both by ſea and land, quartering troops in ſuch towns and places in the plantations as the king ſees beſt, augmenting them at pleaſure, and retaining them in the colonies at all times and at all ſeaſons, as well in peace as in war, not only without, but againſt, the conſent of their aſſemblies, muſt be admitted with ſome limitation.

It is indeed aſſerted in all our law books, that the ſole ſupreme command and government of all the forces by ſea and land, and of all forts and places in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, ever was, conſtitutionally and legally, the undoubted and excluſive prerogative of the crown; but, againſt the abuſes which might poſſibly reſult from the exerciſe of a power thus extenſive and dictatorial, the ſubjects reſiding within the realm have this ſecurity, that their repreſentatives may retain in their own hands the means of ſupport of all the Britiſh forces, both maritime and military. Thus, though the king has the prerogative of commanding armies and equipping fleets, yet without the concurrence of parliament he cannot maintain them. He can declare war, but without the aſſiſtance of parliament he cannot carry it on. The royal prerogative in theſe reſpects is aptly compared by De Lolme to a ſhip completely equipped, but which the parliament, by drawing off the water, can at pleaſure leave aground.

It

It ſeems therefore naturally and neceſſarily to follow, that if the inhabitants of the colonies are entitled to the ſame rights, and have equal ſecurities for thoſe rights, as are enjoyed by their fellow ſubjects in Great Britain, there muſt exiſt ſome reſtraint againſt the exorbitance and abuſe of the power contended for in the preſent caſe. It is to little purpoſe to tell the coloniſts, when groaning under the preſſure of military government, that no military force, however legally raiſed and maintained, can be lawfully employed to violate their rights; as whoever holds the ſword will decide upon the queſtion of law †.

To as little purpoſe may our remaining colonies be told, that the parliament of Great Britain will never ſuffer a precedent of arbitrary power to be eſtabliſhed in any part of the Britiſh dominions. They will probably inſiſt, that the Britiſh parliament is not competent to judge for *them*—at leaſt in the firſt inſtance. They may contend that thoſe who feel, or are in danger of feeling oppreſſion, can beſt determine when it may be proper to reſiſt its attack, or to guard againſt its approach.

It cannot however be denied, that if parliament ſhould be apprized that the juſt authority of the crown over the colonies has degenerated into ty-

† It is obſervable that this claim in the crown was admitted to be a grievance by the commiſſioners appointed, in April 1778, for reſtoring peace in America. In a letter from the Earl of Carliſle, Meſſieurs Eden and Johnſtone, three of the ſaid commiſſioners, to the preſident of the congreſs, dated the 9th of June, 1778, they declare a diſpoſition to concur in ſuch an arrangement as ſhould provide that no military force ſhould be kept up in the different ſtates of North America, without the conſent of the general congreſs or particular aſſemblies.

BOOK VI. ranny, it is not only their right, but their duty, to interpoſe, even on their own account; for it has been well and eloquently ſaid, that whenever the liberties of Great Britain ſhall be devoted, it is probable her diſſolution will not begin in the center: ſhe will feel ſubjection, like the coldneſs of death, creeping upon her from her extremities.

Having thus pointed out ſome remarkable inſtances of colonial ſubordination to the king, as the ſovereign head and ſupreme executive in the government of Great Britain and its dominions, I ſhall proceed to another enquiry, of no leſs importance (and to which indeed ſome of the laſt obſervations naturally lead) and that is, how far the joint authority and collective power of king, lords, and commons conſtitutionally extend, and, on the principles of a free government, ought to be exerciſed in ſupporting the unity of the empire, and preſerving that ſubordination and dependance which the coloniſts, as fellow ſubjects with the inhabitants of the kingdom, owe to Great Britain and its government, in return for protection received.

It is a maxim maintained by political writers, that, in all ſocieties, there muſt exiſt ſomewhere an abſolute and deſpotic juriſdiction, unlimited and irrevocable. "This *abſolute deſpotic* power (ſays Judge Blackſtone) is, by the Britiſh conſtitution, *entruſted* to parliament," meaning to king, lords, and commons, in parliament aſſembled; but I conceive that the learned judge has not expreſſed himſelf on this occaſion with his uſual accuracy; inaſmuch as all "*entruſted*" authority is neceſſarily *accountable*, and therefore not "*abſolute* and *deſpotic*." The truth is, that this deſpotic and unlimited power is reſerved by the people

people in their own hands (not to be reſorted to indeed, but in the laſt extremity) and it never was the intention of any ſociety of free agents, from the creation of the world to this day, to delegate to any man or body of men, an abſolute and deſpotic authority in all caſes over them. Such a delegation indeed, if ever it had been made, would have manifeſted inſanity in the agents, and, on that account alone, muſt have been void from the beginning. CHAP. II.

It is univerſally admitted, that the Engliſh government, conſiſting of king, lords, and commons, is a *limited* government. It is therefore a groſs and palpable contradiction and paradox to ſay, that a *limited* government can poſſeſs *unlimited* authority. If it be aſked, by what limits its authority is reſtrained? I anſwer, by thoſe ancient, fundamental, unwritten laws, which in the act of ſettlement, are called THE BIRTHRIGHT OF THE PEOPLE. Theſe are the laws to which we allude, when we ſpeak of the *Engliſh conſtitution*, in contradiſtinction to *Engliſh acts of parliament*. It is a ſyſtem of principles tranſmitted down to us from time immemorial, and eſtabliſhed into common rights at the price of the beſt blood of our anceſtors. Such are the rights of perſonal liberty and private property, the mode of trial by jury, the freedom of worſhipping our Creator in what manner we think beſt, a ſhare in the legiſlature, and various other rights, coeval with the government; which if the legiſlature ſhould wantonly abrogate or ſubvert, they would be guilty of tyrannical and unfounded uſurpation, and the people would be juſtified, by the laws of God and nature, in reſuming into their own hands (in the laſt reſort, I admit) the truſt which has been thus violated and abuſed.

As

BOOK IX. As the legiſlative power of Great Britain therefore is ſupreme only in a relative ſenſe, even within the realm, where the people themſelves participate in its authority, much leſs can it be ſaid to be ſupreme, *in all caſes whatſoever*, over the colonies. It has indeed been ſolemnly declared *by parliament itſelf, that parliament has ſuch a power:* but if parliament had not the power before, certainly their own declaration could not inveſt them with it.

Conſidering the conſtituent branches of the Britiſh legiſlature ſeparately, it will be difficult to point out any juſt authority whatever, exiſting either in the peers or the repreſentatives of the people over the colonies. We have ſeen that the firſt ſettlers in moſt of the Britiſh plantations, were a part of the Engliſh people, in every reſpect equal to them, and poſſeſſed of every right and privilege at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were poſſeſſed of, and irrefragably to that great right of conſenting to all laws by which they were to be governed. The people of England therefore, or their repreſentatives, have no rights, powers, or privileges to beſtow on the emigrants, which the latter were not already poſſeſſed of equally with themſelves, had no claim to their allegiance, or any pretence to exerciſe authority over them.

As to the Engliſh peers, they are poſſeſſed of very eminent privileges; from none of which however can they communicate any advantage to the colonies. They are a court of juſtice in the dernier reſort for all appeals from the people of Great Britain; but they act in no ſuch capacity for the inhabitants of the colonies; the houſe of peers having never heard or determined cauſes in appeal from the plantations, in which it ever was,

was, and is their duty to ſerve the ſubjects within the realm. CHAP. II.

Thus, incapable from their ſituation of being admitted to a participation with the people and peers of Great Britain in the Britiſh legiſlature, the coloniſts have legiſlatures of their own, which are ſubject to the king of Great Britain, as to their own proper head. The perſon, who, by the laws of Great Britain, is king of Great Britain, is *their* king; but they owe no allegiance to the lords and commons; to whom they are not ſubjects, but *fellow* ſubjects with them to the ſame ſovereign.

Juſtly conſidering, nevertheleſs, the protection which they receive in the name of the ſovereign, *as afforded by the ſtate*, and that the colonies are parts of one great empire, of the various branches of which the king in parliament, is arbiter, controuling and regulating all intercourſe with foreign nations, they readily admit that they ſtand towards the Britiſh legiſlature in that degree of ſubordination which implies every authority in the latter, eſſential to the preſervation of the *whole*; and to the maintenance of the relation between a mother country and her colonies. "We are (ſaid the Americans) but parts of a *whole*, and therefore there muſt exiſt a power ſomewhere, to preſide and preſerve the connection in due order. This power is lodged in the Britiſh parliament." In all matters therefore, to which the local juriſdiction of any one particular colony is not competent, the ſuperintending controul of Great Britain is neceſſarily admitted; and they likewiſe admit that each and all the colonies owe contribution for protection ‡.

To

‡ The nature and extent of the ſubordination here contended for, was clearly underſtood, and is well explained, in the

BOOK VI.

To aſcertain the various contingencies and circumſtances wherein, on the principles ſtated, the Britiſh legiſlature has, and has not, a right to interpoſe, is perhaps impoſſible; becauſe circumſtances may occur to render its interpoſition neceſſary, which cannot be foreſeen. "But although it may be difficult (ſays Governor Pownall) to draw the line of limitation, yet ſome "ſuch line there certainly muſt be, and I think "thoſe are not to be heard who affirm, that no "line can be drawn between the ſupreme autho-"rity of parliament, and no authority at all."

Nevertheleſs, it were not difficult to point out many caſes, and to imagine others, wherein the authority of parliament has been, and may again be, conſtitutionally exerted, in regard to the co-

the caſe of Ireland, by Davenant, in a treatiſe publiſhed by him ſoon after the revolution.—His words are theſe:

"The inhabitants of Ireland, from ancient conceſſions, have a privilege perhaps above the Roman colonies, namely, to tax themſelves by their own ſuffrages, within their own limits; but this is no more than what is claimed by ſeveral provinces of France, which nevertheleſs account themſelves ſubordinate to the ſovereign power of the whole ſtate.

"There is a part of empire not communicable, and which muſt reſide ſovereignly ſome where; for there would be ſuch a perpetual claſhing of power and juriſdictions, as were inconſiſtent with the very being of communities, unleſs this laſt reſort were ſomewhere lodged. Now this incommunicable power we take to be the ſupreme judgment of what is beſt and moſt expedient for the whole; and in all reaſon of government, this ought to be there truſted and lodged from whence protection is expected.

"That Ireland ſhould judge of what is beſt for itſelf, this is juſt and fair; but in determinations that are to reach the whole, as, namely, what is moſt expedient for England and Ireland both, there, without all doubt, the ſupreme judgment ought to reſt in the king, lords, and commons of England, by whoſe arms and treaſure Ireland ever was, and muſt always be defended."—Vide Davenant's Works, publiſhed by Sir Charles Whitworth, vol. ii. p. 247.

lonies,

lonies, without aboliſhing every reſtriction on the part of *governors*, and extinguiſhing every right on the part of the *governed* §. Previouſly excluding,

CHAP. II.

§ Such is the general ſyſtem of the laws for regulating the commerce of the colonies; and I will now add ſome inſtances of parliamentary interference, on other occaſions, which I conceive to be conſiſtent with the principles I have laid down. Thus, when the firſt princes of the Stewart family affected to conſider the plantations as their own demeſnes, with a view of making them a ſource of revenue to themſelves, the commons oppoſed and defeated a claim which, if it had been eſtabliſhed, might have rendered the king independent of the Britiſh parliament. (See the Journals of 1624 and 1625, and Vaughan's Reports, 402.) Nobody doubts the propriety of the commons' interpoſition on this occaſion. Again, we have ſeen in the hiſtory of Barbadoes, a great miniſter (the Earl of Clarendon) impeached by the houſe of commons, among other things, for introducing an arbitrary government into the plantations. It was never alledged, that the houſe in this buſineſs exceeded the limits of its proper and conſtitutional functions. Soon after the revolution, ſome laws were paſſed by one or two of the provincial aſſemblies, which were ſuppoſed to weaken the chain that holds the colonies dependent on the mother country. This gave occaſion to a clauſe in the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22. which declares, "that all laws (meaning the laws for regulating trade) which are any ways repugnant to the laws of England, ſhall be deemed null and void." This, though a ſtrong, was certainly a juſtifiable exertion of Engliſh ſupremacy. By the 6th Anne, c. 30. a general poſt office is eſtabliſhed in the colonies. This may be deemed an internal regulation; but as Dr. Franklyn obſerved, it was a regulation which one colony could not make for another; and as the revenue which it raiſed was conſidered in the nature of a *quantum meruit*, a reward for ſervice (a ſervice too, which the coloniſts were not bound to accept, for a man might, if he had thought proper, have ſent his letters as before by a private meſſenger) the act was ſubmitted to. After this, ſome laws were paſſed, which were thought to bear hard upon the rights of the coloniſts. By the 5th Geo. II. c. 7. in conſequence of ſome petitions from different bodies of Engliſh merchants, complaining that the colonial laws afforded but an inadequate remedy

BOOK VI. excluding, however, every idea of its interpoſition in the concerns of internal legiſlation, and all other matters to which the colonial aſſemblies are ſufficiently competent; for, to the reaſons already ſtated for this abſolute excluſion, may be added, the utter impoſſibility that two different legiſlatures can, at all times, and in the ſame moment, enforce their authority on the ſame object, inaſmuch as they may happen to differ in opinion, and in that dilemma, this conſequence muſt follow; either the Britiſh muſt yield to the provincial, or prevail over it in points, for which, from the practical or conſtitutional unfitneſs of the former, the latter was formed. Such inconſiſt-

remedy for the recovery of debts; it is enacted, "that lands, "houſes, negroes, and other hereditaments, and all real "eſtate whatever, ſhould be liable to, and chargeable with, "all debts, due either to the king, or any of his ſubjects, "and be aſſets for the ſatisfaction thereof." And by the 24th Geo. II. c. 53. "the governors and aſſemblies of the "reſpective provinces are reſtrained from paſſing any act, "order, reſolution, or vote, whereby paper bills, or bills of "credit, ſhall be increaſed or iſſued." As both theſe laws were paſſed in favour of Engliſh merchants, who had advanced money for the uſe of the coloniſts, it was thought diſhonourable to object to the regulations which they eſtabliſhed. The laws were therefore ſubmitted to, but not without murmurs on the part of the provincial legiſlatures, who conſidered them as infringing their liberties. Their ſubmiſſion to them, though on very laudable principles, was afterwards quoted againſt them, and aſſigned as the beſt of all poſſible reaſons for requiring unconditional ſubmiſſion on all other occaſions.

From what has been ſaid above, and what will hereafter be ſtated on the ſubject of the commercial ſyſtem, the reader will be enabled to form ſome idea of the boundary contended for, between a conſtitutional, ſuperintending, controuling power in the Britiſh parliament, and a ſyſtem of perfect unqualified tyranny, *the power of binding the colonies in all caſes whatſoever.*

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ency would render government at once oppreſ- CHAP. II.
ſive and ridiculous ‖.

But, in a government of which freedom is the baſis, and of which it is the boaſt that it promotes, equally and impartially, the happineſs of all its ſubjects, it might be ſuppoſed that no other authority over its dependencies could be neceſſary, than that which effectually provides, that every addition to their wealth and greatneſs ſhould contribute, at the ſame time, to the augmentation of its own riches and power. And ſuch, before the late unfortunate diviſions, was the commercial ſyſtem adopted by Great Britain; and ſubmitted to by her American colonies. To diſcriminate the ſeveral parts, properties, and effects of this great arrangement of reſtriction and monopoly; to ſhew that it ſecured every degree of authority in the parent over the child, which

‖ If Great Britain had no right to interfere with the internal legiſlation of the colonies, ſhe could have had no poſſible right to tax them for the purpoſe of revenue; yet, it does not follow, that ſhe would have had a right to tax them, even if ſhe had poſſeſſed juſt authority to make laws for their internal government. "Taxation (ſaid Lord Chatham) is "no part of the governing or *legiſlative* power. Taxes are a "voluntary gift and grant of the commons *alone*. In legiſ- "lation, the three eſtates of the realm are alike concerned: "but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, "is only neceſſary to clothe it in the form of a law. The "gift and grant is of the commons alone." It is unneceſſary to ſay more concerning the right of parliamentary taxation of the colonies, becauſe parliament itſelf (when indeed it was too late) has formally relinquiſhed the claim. By the 18th Geo. III. c. 12. the king and parliament of Great Britain declare, that from thenceforth they will not impoſe any duty, tax, &c. payable in any of the king's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the Weſt Indies, except for the regulation of commerce: the produce whereof is always to be applied to the uſe of the colony in which it is levied.

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BOOK VI.

is conſiſtent with the happineſs and freedom of mankind, (the ends of all juſt government); and finally, that it might have anſwered, in the fulleſt degree, even the objects of revenue and contribution, if Great Britain had happily confined her pretenſions to the limits originally preſcribed by herſelf——for theſe purpoſes it would be neceſſary to enter into a large and comprehenſive diſcuſſion, to which the deſign of my work does not extend. How far the Britiſh ſugar iſlands conſtituted a part of, and were compriz-ed in, the general ſyſtem, I ſhall endeavour to point out in the ſubſequent chapters.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Principles on which the Nations of Europe ſettled Colonies in America.—Commercial regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admiſſion of foreign-built Veſſels, eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Iſlands, and their Value.—The ſame from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the Weſt Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of Britiſh Capital veſted in the Sugar Iſlands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Obſervations.

THE eſtabliſhment of colonies in America by the nations of Europe (ſays Monteſquieu) was contrived, not in the view of building cities and extending empires; but for the purpoſe of carrying on trade to greater advantage than could be done with rival ſtates. Commercial monopoly therefore, and with great reaſon, is the leading principle of colonial intercourſe. CHAP. III.

This account, with ſome little qualification, may be admitted; and a very ſlight enquiry will demonſtrate that it applies as pointedly to the Engliſh, as to any other nation. The means indeed which Great Britain has adopted for retaining to herſelf the full benefit of the monopoly, have, in ſome caſes, proved more liberal than thoſe of rival ſtates; but the principle by which the various nations of Europe were influenced, was preciſely the ſame: To ſecure to themſelves reſpectively, the

BOOK VI.

the moſt important of the productions of their colonies, and to retain to themſelves excluſively, the great advantage of ſupplying thoſe colonies with European goods and manufactures, was the chief aim and endeavour of them all.

Whether the ſeveral parts of this ſyſtem, and its conſequent train of duties, reſtrictions, and prohibitions, were originally as wiſe and politic, as they are evidently ſelfiſh, is a queſtion that of late has been much controverted. But this is a diſcuſſion into which it can anſwer no good purpoſe to enter, becauſe the preſent arrangement has been too long, and is now too firmly eſtabliſhed to be abrogated; and thus much at leaſt has been truly ſaid in its favour, that it is calculated to correſpond with the regulations of foreign ſtates; for ſo long as other nations confine the trade of their colonies to themſelves, to affirm that Great Britain derives no advantage from following their example, is to contradict both experience and reaſon.

Of the commercial regulations of this kingdom, the memorable law which was paſſed in the 12th year of King Charles II. chap. 18, commonly called, by way of eminence, THE NAVIGATION ACT, may be conſidered as the foundation. By this law it is, among other proviſions, declared,

Firſt, that no goods or commodities ſhall be imported into, or exported out of, any of his Majeſty's plantations or territories in Aſia, Africa, or America, but in ſhips *belonging* to the ſubjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or in ſuch as are of the *built of, and belonging to*, ſuch plantations, and whereof three-fourths of the mariners and the maſter are Engliſh ſubjects, on pain of the forfeiture of ſhip and cargo; and all

all admirals and commanders of king's ſhips are authorized to make ſeizure of ſhips offending herein. CHAP. III.

Secondly, That no perſon born out of the allegiance of his Majeſty, who is not naturalized, or made a free denizen, ſhall act as a merchant or factor in any of the ſaid places, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods and chattels.

Thirdly, That all governors, before they enter into the exerciſe of their office, ſhall take an oath to do their utmoſt, that the above-mentioned regulations ſhall be punctually and *bona fide* obſerved; and a governor neglecting his duty therein, ſhall be removed from his government.

Fourthly, That no goods or commodities whatever of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Aſia, and America, ſhall be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernſey and Jerſey, or Berwick, in any other ſhips but thoſe *belonging to* the ſaid places, or to the plantations, and navigated in the manner aforeſaid, under penalty of forfeiting both ſhip and cargo.

Fifthly, That no *ſugars*, *tobacco*, *cotton*, *indigo*, *ginger*, *fuſtic*, or other *dying woods*, of the production of any Engliſh plantation in Aſia, Africa, or America, ſhall be exported therefrom to any place, except to ſome other Engliſh plantation; or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. The above commodities being named in the act are called generally *enumerated*, in contradiſtinction to all others of plantation growth; and,

Laſtly, Bond ſecurity is required from all ſhips trading to or in the plantations, and lading on board ſuch commodities, for the due obſervance of this part of the law.

Such, together with the conditions under which foreign-built ſhips were to enjoy the privilege of Engliſh ſhips, are the chief reſtrictions and proviſions

BOOK VI. viſions of this celebrated ſtatute, *ſo far as they relate to the plantation trade*, and they are extended and ſtrengthened by a law which paſſed three years afterwards, which the plantation governors are alſo ſworn to enforce; for by the 15th of Cha. 2. c. 7. it is enacted, that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, ſhall be imported into the Britiſh plantations, *but ſuch as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick*; and in *Engliſh-built* ſhipping, (or ſhips taken as prize, and certified according to a former act) whereof the maſter and three-fourths of the mariners are Engliſh, and carried directly to the ſaid plantations. There is an exception however as to ſalt for the fiſheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horſes and victuals from Ireland and Scotland; and the preamble to the act, after ſtating that plantations are formed by citizens of the mother country, aſſigns the motive for this reſtriction to be, "the maintaining a greater correſpondence and kindneſs between the ſubjects at home and thoſe in the plantations, *keeping the colonies in a firmer dependance upon the mother country, making them yet more beneficial and advantageous to it in the further employment and encreaſe of Engliſh ſhipping, vent of Engliſh manufactures and commodities*; rendering the navigation to and from them more ſafe and cheap, and making this kingdom *a ſtaple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but alſo of the commodities of other countries and places for the ſupply of them, it being* (continues the preamble) *the uſage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themſelves* *."

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* The deſign of this act, ſays Poſtlethwaite, was to make a double voyage neceſſary, where the colonies uſed any commodities

Ten years after this, another act paſſed (25 Cha. II. c. 7.) impoſing duties on ſugar and other commodities * exported from one colony to another, and the following is aſſigned as the reaſon: "that the inhabitants of ſome of the ſaid colonies, not content with being ſupplied with thoſe commodities for their own uſe, free from all cuſtoms, had, contrary to law, exported conſiderable quantities to divers parts of Europe, and did likewiſe vend great quantities to the ſhipping of other nations, to the great injury of the trade and navigation of the parent ſtate." For the prevention of this inconveniency in future, the duties in queſtion are laid on the export of thoſe commodities from the plantations; unleſs ſecurity be given to tranſport them directly to England, Berwick, or Wales. The duties were the ſame, I believe, as were then paid in England on moſt of thoſe commodities imported for home conſumption. CHAP. III.

This act was ſoon found to require explanation and amendment; for the payment of the aforeſaid duties having been conſidered in the colonies

modities of the growth and manufacture of Europe but Britiſh: for if they could not be ſhipped in Great Britain, they muſt firſt be brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would conſequently have the benefit, not only of that freight, but of as many ſhips and ſailors as muſt be employed in bringing them from thence. It is remarkable that by this act, Ireland was indirectly deprived of the benefits allowed that kingdom by the act of navigation, for it is required, that none of the enumerated goods ſhall be carried from the plantations to any country or place whatſoever, until they have been firſt unladen and put aſhore in ſome port or haven in *England*, *Wales*, or *Berwick*. By a ſubſequent act this intention was avowed, and Ireland was expreſsly ſhut out from a *direct* trade with the plantations.

* White ſugar 5s. and Muſcovado 1s. 6d. per cwt.; tobacco 1d. cotton-wool ½d. indigo 2d. cacao 1d. per lb.; logwood £.5. ginger 1s. the cwt.; fuſtic, &c. 6d.

BOOK VI. as an exoneration from giving ſecurity not to go to any foreign market in Europe; it was provided by the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22, that, notwithſtanding the payment of the duties in queſtion, the ſame ſecurity ſhould be given as was required by former acts; and it was enacted and declared, that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations, ſhould, on any pretence whatſoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unleſs the ſame were firſt landed in England, and had paid the rates and duties wherewith they were there chargeable by law.

By the ſame act it is declared, that no goods or merchandize whatever ſhall be imported into, or exported out of, any Britiſh colony or plantation, but in ſhips *built* in England, Ireland, or the plantations, wholly owned by Engliſh ſubjects, and navigated as before; and proviſions are eſtabliſhed concerning the regiſtering of ſhips, to prevent the fraud of paſſing foreign-built ſhips as Engliſh; together with various regulations to prevent counterfeit certificates, and frauds in the import and export to and from the colonies; for all which, reference muſt be made to the act at large, which is ſyſtematic and comprehenſive in a high degree.

Theſe acts therefore, and ſome intermediate ones, which it is not neceſſary to particulariſe, may be conſidered as ſupplemental to the navigation act, and they form altogether the foundation of our colonial code; moſt of the ſubſequent acts, now in force, being framed in the ſame ſpirit, and intended to enforce and ſtrengthen the ſyſtem; with ſome few alterations and exceptions only, which however do not extend to any great and ſubſtantial change in the principle or groundwork *.

The

* The following, I believe, are the chief additions, alterations, and exceptions, ſo far as the Britiſh ſugar iſlands are principally

The reader will find that the ſyſtem embraces two diſtinct objects; firſt, the augmentation of our CHAP. III.

principally concerned. If the reader is deſirous of the fulleſt and moſt correct information on this head, he is referred to the Hiſtory of the Law of Shipping and Navigation, by John Reeves, Eſq; an admirable work, in which the drieſt ſubjects are treated with ſuch clearneſs, preciſion, and elegance, as to render the book not only inſtructive, but in a very high degree entertaining and intereſting.

By ſtatute 3 and 4 Ann, c. 5. Rice and melaſſes were put into the enumeration, and by c. 8. Iriſh linens, laden in Ireland in Engliſh-built ſhipping navigated according to law, were admitted into the plantations.

By 7 Ann, c. 8. Jeſuits bark, and all other drugs, are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from the Britiſh plantations, on payment of the ſame duties as if imported *directly* from the place of their growth.

By 13 Geo. I. c. 15. and 7 Geo. II. c. 18. Cochineal and indigo were allowed for a certain time to be imported from any port or place, in Britiſh or other ſhips; which acts were afterwards renewed, and are now in force.

By 3 Geo. II. c. 28. Rice was permitted, under certain conditions, to be carried from South Carolina to any port of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre; a privilege afterwards extended to North Carolina and Georgia.

By 4 Geo. II. c. 15. *Non-enumerated* goods (viz. goods not enumerated in the 12 of Cha. II. c. 18.) are admitted to be imported directly into Ireland from the colonies, notwithſtanding the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22.—Hops, by a ſubſequent ſtatute, are excepted out of this indulgence.

By 12 Geo. II. c. 30. Sugars, under certain regulations and reſtrictions, are permitted to be carried immediately from the Britiſh plantations to any port or place ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre, and alſo to any foreign port of Europe in licenſed ſhips, which are to call firſt at ſome port in Great Britain.—This was conſidered as a great indulgence, but the conditions and regulations on which it was granted were ſo ſtrict and numerous, as to defeat in a great meaſure the intention of the legiſlature.

By 4 and 5 Geo. III. ſect. 27. Britiſh plantation coffee, piemento, and cacao nuts are put into the enumeration; as are likewiſe whale fins, raw ſilk, hides and ſkins, pot and pearl aſhes; and by ſect. 28. ſecurity is required that no iron, nor

BOOK VI. our naval ſtrength, by an entire excluſion of foreign ſhipping from our plantation trade; ſecondly,

any ſort of wood called lumber, the growth, production, or manufacture of any Britiſh colony or plantation, ſhall be landed in any port of Europe except Great Britain; an exception however was afterwards made by 5 Geo. III. c. 45. by which iron might be carried to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, the Azores, or any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Finiſterre.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 39. Bond is required to be given in the Britiſh plantations, that no rum or other ſpirits ſhall be landed in the Iſle of Man; and by the 6 Geo. III. c. 52. ſecurity is required for all non-enumerated goods, that the ſame ſhall not be landed at any port of Europe to the northward of Cape Finiſterre, except in Great Britain, and (by a ſubſequent law) Ireland.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 52. Any ſort of cotton wool may be imported in Britiſh built ſhips from any country or place, duty free.

By the 6 Geo. III. c. 49. was eſtabliſhed the meaſure of opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. By this act, live cattle, and all manner of goods and commodities whatſoever (except tobacco), the produce of any foreign colony in America, might be imported into Prince Rupert's Bay and Roſſeau in Dominica, and into Kingſton, Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucea in Jamaica, from any foreign colony or plantation in America, in any foreign ſloop, ſchooner, or other veſſel, not having more than one deck. This act was temporary, but was afterwards continued, until materially altered by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. wherein, among ſundry other regulations, two more ports are opened in addition to the former, *viz.* St. George, in the iſland of Grenada, and the port of Naſſau, in the iſland of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, into which cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all kinds, cacao, logwood, fuſtic, and other dye woods, hides and tallow, beaver and all ſorts of furs, tortoiſe ſhell, mill timber, mahogany, &c. horſes, aſſes, mules, and cattle, being the growth or production of any *colony or plantation* in America, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign *European* ſovereign or ſtate, and all coin and bullion, &c. may be imported in any foreign ſloop, ſchooner, or other veſſel, not having more than one deck, and not exceeding the burden of ſeventy tons, and provided alſo that ſuch veſſel is owned and navigated

condly, the ſecuring to Great Britain all the emo- CHAP.
luments ariſing from her colonies, by a double III.
monopoly over them: *viz.* a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether *from* Great Britain: and a monopoly of all their export, which (as far as it can ſerve any uſeful purpoſe to the Mother Country) is to be no where but *to* Great Britain. On the ſame idea, it was contrived, that they ſhould ſend all their products to us *raw*, and in their firſt ſtate; and that they ſhould take every thing from us in the laſt ſtage of manufacture.

Moſt of our commercial writers, and many of our ſtateſmen have conſidered the two great leading principles above mentioned to be ſo cloſely interwoven together, and dependant on each other, as not to be disjointed without violence to

navigated by the ſubjects of ſome foreign European ſovereign or ſtate. It is permitted alſo to the ſame deſcription of perſons and veſſels to export from theſe parts Britiſh plantation rum, negroes, and all manner of goods that had been legally imported, except naval ſtores and iron. The foreign articles thus permitted to be brought into the free ports by this act, may be exported again to Great Britain or Ireland; and by a ſubſequent law (30 Geo. III. c. 29.) the reſtriction in regard to the tonnage of foreign veſſels is taken off, but theſe veſſels are ſtill limited to one deck.

The next great meaſure was the opening the plantation trade to the people of Ireland, which was firſt partially done by the 18 Geo. III. c. 55. and more fully by the 20 Geo. III. c. 10. under which they enjoy the like unlimited intercourſe with the colonies, both in reſpect of import and export, as Great Britain; on condition only that the goods ſo imported and exported are made liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and ſubject to the ſame ſecurities, regulations, and reſtrictions as in Great Britain; a condition to which the Parliament of Ireland conſented, by paſſing an act impoſing duties on the imports, conformably with thoſe of Great Britain.

The regulations with regard to America, ſince the independence of the United States, will be diſcuſſed in a ſubſequent chapter.

both;

BOOK VI.

both; whereas in truth, the monopoly of our colonial products, and the advantages ariſing from the ſupply of their wants, might not only be ſupported, even though foreign-built veſſels were incorporated into the great body of our ſhipping, but it may eventually happen, that both our trade and navigation would be greatly improved and extended by ſuch a meaſure.

That the maintenance of our naval ſtrength is one of the moſt important objects to which the Britiſh government can direct its attention, no perſon of common underſtanding will venture to diſpute; and ſo long as Great Britain can herſelf furniſh ſhipping on the cheapeſt terms, ſufficient for all the great branches of her commerce, every poſſible encouragement ought undoubtedly to be given to our own ſhipwrights, and every diſcouragement to the participation of foreigners in the ſhip-building trade: But it is the intereſt of the merchant to get his freight as cheap as poſſible; it is equally ſo of the manufacturer; becauſe every increaſe in the price of ſhipping and freight, operates as a tax upon the commodities ſhipped, and affects the foreign demand in proportion. If therefore, from progreſſive improvements in our agriculture and manufactures, the two great founders and employers of ſhipping, the maritime commerce of all the Britiſh dominions ſhall at any time require a greater number of ſhips than Great Britain and her dependencies can furniſh on any ſaving terms, either recourſe muſt be had to foreign vehicles, or our trade, like the victims of Procruſtes, muſt be lopped and ſhortened to make it ſuit the meaſure of our own *.

Navigation

* "Can it be reconciled to common ſenſe to aſſert, that if the Americans, or any other people, were to offer us 500 ſail of veſſels every year *gratis*, it would be againſt the intereſt of the

CHAP. III.

Navigation and naval power are the *children*, not the *parents* of commerce; for if agriculture and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furniſh the ſubject-matter of intercourſe between diſtant countries, there muſt be an end to navigation. The remark therefore of a very diſtinguiſhed ſenator *, concerning that branch of our commercial ſyſtem of which we are now treating, appears to be undoubtedly true, "that if the navigation act be ſuffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times, and fluctuation of circumſtances, it muſt do great miſchief, and frequently even defeat its own purpoſe †.

Having

the nation (as a nation) to accept them, becauſe it might prove detrimental to ſome individuals among us (our ſhipwrights, &c.)? If the argument will not hold good, conſidered in this extended light, it can never, by a parity of reaſon, be admitted in caſes where veſſels can be purchaſed at one-half the price it would coſt to build them."—Vide a Short Addreſs from a Manufacturer, on the Importance of the Trade of Great Britain with the United States of America.—Printed for Stockdale, 1785.

* Mr. Burke.

† An American writer of a periodical work called the *Muſeum*, publiſhed at Philadelphia, in 1791, having been informed, that France had permitted the introduction of American veſſels into her trade, (in which, however, he was miſtaken) expreſſes the following ſentiments; which, to my underſtanding, convey conviction in every word. "If France "(ſaith he) had rejected American veſſels, ſhe would have ſo "far ſacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ſhips. "She wiſely purchaſes, upon the cheapeſt terms, *the cradles* "for her marine nurſery. The firſt and great object of the "maritime powers ought to be, *the increaſe of the number of* "*their ſailors*, which is beſt done by multiplying the chances "of their employment. Among the means of doing this, "one of the moſt obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of* "*veſſels*. The French-built ſhips coſt from fifty-five to ſixty "dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, excluſive of

"ſea

BOOK VI.

Having obſerved thus much on the leading principles, or general ſyſtem of our colonial trade, the application whereof will hereafter be ſeen, I ſhall now proceed to the more immediate object of our preſent reſearches, and endeavour to furniſh the reader with ſome leading *data*, or facts, whereby to appreciate the value and importance of the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, and the commerce which they create; by inveſtigating,

1ſt. The nature and annual amount of the export trade from Great Britain, and her dependencies, for the ſupply of their wants, and the profits of the Britiſh merchants and ſhip owners thereon.

2dly. The particulars and value of the various rich commodities, the growth of theſe iſlands, annually imported into Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

" ſea ſtores, inſurance, the charges of lading, outward pilot-
" age, and other expences incidental to the employment,
" and not to the building and outfit of a veſſel. The Ame-
" rican live-oak and cedar ſhips, to which none are ſuperior,
" coſt in the ſame ſituation, from thirty-three to thirty-five
" dollars, finiſhed very completely. If the French require
" 10,000 tons of new veſſels, on any occaſion, or in any term of
" time, they may be procured in the United States, on a com-
" putation of the medium price of thirty-four dollars per ton,
" for the ſum of 340,000 dollars: but, if bought at fifty-five
" dollars, the loweſt price in France, they would coſt the
" much greater ſum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is
" neceſſary to ſhew, that ſuch a nation, *cæteris paribus*, muſt
" produce ſeamen more rapidly than thoſe who refuſe theſe
" cheap veſſels. It would appear much leſs unreaſonable, that
" the government of the United States ſhould prohibit the
" ſale of ſhips *(the means of obtaining naval ſtrength)* to foreign
" nations, than that any of them ſhould reject the great ad-
" vantage of ſo cheap and excellent a ſupply." Such is the reaſoning of this author, and it is no proof that his arguments are weak, becauſe the circumſtance which gave riſe to them did not exiſt.

3dly.

3dly. The value of the ſugar iſlands conſidered as ſo much Britiſh capital. CHAP. III.

4thly. A ſtate of the ſhipping and ſeamen to which the Britiſh ſugar iſlands afford employment.

A full enumeration of the various articles which furniſh the ſhips bound to the Weſt Indies with an outward freight, would indeed compriſe a conſiderable proportion of almoſt all the productions and manufactures of this kingdom, as well as of many of the commodities imported into Great Britain from the reſt of Europe and the Eaſt Indies. The inhabitants of the ſugar iſlands are wholly dependant on the mother country and Ireland, not only for the comforts and elegancies, but alſo for the common neceſſaries of life. In moſt other ſtates and kingdoms, the firſt object of agriculture is to raiſe food for the ſupport of the inhabitants; but many of the rich productions of the Weſt Indies yield a profit ſo much beyond what can be obtained from grain, that in ſeveral of the ſugar iſlands, it is true œconomy in the planter, rather to buy proviſions from others, than to raiſe them by his own labour. The produce of a ſingle acre of his cane fields, will purchaſe more Indian corn than can be raiſed in five times that extent of land, and pay beſides the freight from other countries. Thus not only their houſehold furniture, their implements of huſbandry, their clothing, but even a great part of their daily ſuſtenance, are regularly ſent to them from America or Europe. On the firſt head therefore, it may generally be obſerved, that the manufacturers of Birmingham and Mancheſter, the clothiers of Yorkſhire, Glouceſterſhire, and Wilts, the potters of Staffordſhire, the proprietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works, together

BOOK VI.

together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the Britiſh Weſt Indies, for their reſpective commodities, than perhaps they themſelves conceive to be poſſible. Who would believe that woollens conſtitute an article of great conſumption in the torrid zone? Such however, is the fact. Of the coarſer kinds eſpecially, for the uſe of the negroes, the export is prodigious. Even ſugar itſelf, the great ſtaple of the Weſt Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined ſtate; ſo entirely do theſe colonies depend on the mother country; centering in her boſom all their wealth, wiſhes, and affections.

To the laudable reſearches of the lords of the committee of council on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, the public have been lately indebted for ſuch a body of evidence and information reſpecting the general commerce of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, as could not poſſibly have been collected by any exertions leſs extenſive and efficient than thoſe of government ‡. I have frequently had recourſe to their lordſhips report in former parts of this work, and ſhall refer to it on this occaſion.

From that authority it appears, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in the year 1787 (ſince which time they certainly have not diminiſhed) amounted to £.1,638,703 13*s.* 10*d.* the whole of which (except about £.200,000) conſiſted of Britiſh goods and manufactures. The exports of the ſame year to Africa, which, with all ſubſequent profits, muſt be charged to the ſame account, amount

‡ Report of the Lords of the Committee of Council on the Slave Trade, 1789.

to

to £.668,255 14s. 4d. § Beſides this, the coſt is to be ſtated of manufactures and proviſions from Ireland, and of wines from Madeira and the Azores; the ſame having hitherto been purchaſed by Britiſh capitals, and conveyed to the Weſt Indies in veſſels trading circuitouſly from Britiſh ports, and the returns likewiſe made, for the moſt part, to Great Britain. For the ſame reaſon, the coſt and freight of lumber, fiſh, and other productions of America, both from the American ſtates and the Britiſh provinces, tranſported from thence to the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, in Britiſh veſſels, muſt likewiſe be added to the eſtimate. CHAP. III.

Concerning Ireland, I have no account for 1787, but the reader will find, in an Appendix to this volume, official accounts for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, as well of the exports from that kingdom to the Britiſh Weſt Indies, as of the imports received from thence in return; both in a direct trade. Of the former, the average value is £.294,353 Iriſh, being equal to £.277,218 ſterling: the amount of the imports will be given hereafter.

Of wines, from Madeira and the Azores, the yearly conſumption in theſe iſlands may be eſtimated, on an average, at £.30,000.

Reſpecting America, the ſupplies that were annually furniſhed by thoſe provinces which now conſtitute the United States, were valued, at the

§ The goods ſhipped for the purchaſe of gum, ivory, and gold, in the trade direct between Africa and Great Britain, conſtitute ſome ſmall part of this; but I make no deduction on that account, becauſe the freight of, and merchants commiſſions on, ſuch part as are applied to the purchaſe of ſlaves, and the profits on the ſale of thoſe ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, not being charged in the inſpector general's books, I ſet one againſt the other.

places

BOOK VI. places of delivery, at no leſs than £.720,000 ſterling; and they conſiſted of articles ſo eſſentially neceſſary, that the reſtrictions to which this trade is now ſubject (how grievouſly ſoever they are felt by the planters) have not, I think, diminiſhed the demand, or leſſened the import ‖. Official accounts of the preſent ſtate of this intercourſe are no where given to the public: a retroſpective ſurvey of its nature and extent, as it ſubſiſted previous to the war, will be given in the ſubſequent chapter.

There are yet to be reckoned the imports from the remaining Britiſh American provinces, including Newfoundland; of which, in like manner, no account, that I have ſeen, has been publiſhed. Suppoſing they were equal in value to the Weſt Indian commodities ſhipped thither in return (a conjecture probably not very wide of the truth) the ſum to be charged on this account for 1787, is £.100,506 17*s.* 10*d.* *

I ſhall now bring into one point of view the ſeveral great items that have been enumerated; adding to the Britiſh and Iriſh ſupply 20 *per cent.* for the coſt of freight and inſurance outwards, the charges of ſhipping, commiſſions to the merchant-exporter in ſome caſes, and the profits in others of the merchant-importer in the Weſt

‖ Jamaica, for a while, found ſome reſource within itſelf for ſtaves and lumber, but the country is, I believe, by this time nearly exhauſted of thoſe articles. The profit to Great Britain ariſing from the freight alone of the whole ſupply, is ſtated by the lords of the privy council at £.245,000 *per annum.*

* Much the greater part of this ſum is for fiſh from Newfoundland; the import of that article from thence into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, on an average of five years, (1783 to 1787, both incluſive) having been 80,645 quintals, worth at the ports of delivery about 17*s.* 6*d.* the quintal.

Indies;

Indies; all which contribute to ſwell the debt of the planters to Great Britain, *viz.* CHAP. III.

	£.	s.	d.	£.
Exports from Great Britain, direct	1,638,703	13	10	
—— from Ireland	277,218	—	—	
	1,915,921	13	10	
Add 20 per cent. for freight, &c. &c.	383,184	6	2	
				2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchaſe of negroes — — —				668,255
—— from Madeira and the Azores —				30,000
—— United States of America				720,000
—— Britiſh America —				100,506
Total —				3,817,867

Perhaps it were no exceſs to ſtate the whole amount at this time at four millions of pounds ſterling. Hence then appears the vaſt dependance of the Britiſh Weſt Indian colonies on their parent country, for almoſt every thing that is uſeful and ornamental to civilized life; and it was juſtly obſerved, by the accurate and intelligent Mr. Glover, that ſuch a market for the vent of our manufactures, furniſhes irrefragable proof, that, through whatever channel riches have flowed into thoſe colonies, that influx hath made its paſſage to the mother country, " not (continued he) like the daſh of an oriental torrent, but in ſalubrious, various, placid, and copious ſtreams; refreſhing and augmenting ſober induſtry by additional employment to thouſands and ten thouſands of families, and lightening the burthen upon rents, by reducing the contributions of pariſhes to poverty unemployed."

But

BOOK VI.

But it is not ſo much by the exports to, as by the imports from, the Sugar Iſlands, that we are to judge of their value: every article of their products and returns being in fact as truly Britiſh property, as the tin which is found in the mines of Cornwall; and their ſtaples are the more valuable, inaſmuch as they differ from the commodities produced at home: for they ſupply the mother country, not only with what ſhe muſt otherwiſe purchaſe from foreigners for her own uſe, but with a ſuperfluity beſides for foreign conſumption. Let us now then, as propoſed, enquire into the particulars, and eſtimate the value of their various productions and commodities with which Great Britain and her dependencies are annually ſupplied. Here too, I might refer to the year 1787, and avail myſelf, as I have done in the hiſtory of each particular iſland, of the very exact, comprehenſive, and valuable ſtatement of the returns of that year, as prepared by the inſpector-general of the exports and imports, with the marketable price of each article, as annexed by the committee of the privy council to their report on the ſlave trade; but I chooſe rather to look to the year 1788 chiefly, becauſe the exports of any one year are ſet properly againſt the imports of the ſucceeding one; it being uſual, in moſt articles of Britiſh export to the Weſt Indies, to give twelve or ſixteen months credit.

The imports into Great Britain from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands in 1788, and the value thereof, will appear in the following table. The quantities are taken from the inſpector general's return †; but that officer has not, in this caſe, as

† Report of the Privy Council, part iv.

in the account of the former year, affixed the marketable prices §. Theſe therefore are collected from the opinions of reſpectable brokers, on a low average of the year; the miſcellaneous articles excepted, which ſtand as ſtated by the inſpector-general, with the addition of one-third, being the uſual diſproportion between the actual prices current, and thoſe in the cuſtom-houſe books.

§ The marketable prices, are the current prices after the duties have been cleared; and theſe are paid on importation, except as to the duties and exciſe on rum, which is permitted to be bonded. The latter therefore cannot be ſaid to be paid by the planter in the firſt inſtance, as in the former caſe they certainly are, and nine times out of ten are *not* refunded by the conſumer, as will hereafter be demonſtrated.

IMPORTS

IMPORTS from the Britiſh Weſt Indies into Great Britain, in 1788.

Sugar, Montſerrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's	—	Cwt.	£. s. d.	
	—	242,542 at 47s.	569,973 14 —	
	Cwt.			
Antigua	181,813			
Grenada	193,783			
		375,596 at 46s.	863,870 16 —	
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla	164,976			
Jamaica	1,124,017			
		1,288,993 at 44s.	2,835,784 12 —	
Barbadoes	110,955			
Dominica	47,610			
		158,565 at 45s	356,771 5 —	
	Cwt.	2,065,696	£	4,626,400 7 —
	Gallons.			
Rum, Jamaica	2,917,797	at 2s. 2d.	316,094 13 6	
other iſlands	728,645	at 2s.	72,864 10 —	
	Cwt.			338,959 3 6
Coffee	32,283	at 96s.	—	154,958 8 —
	lbs.			
Cotton	11,618,384	at 14d.	—	677,738 19 —
	Cwt.			
Ginger, Jamaica	3,892	at 30s.	5,838 — —	
Barbadoes	5,755	at 44s.	12,661 — —	
				18,499 — —
Miſcellaneous articles valued at the cuſtom-houſe prices	—	—	446,322 15 5	
Add one-third, the uſual difference between the prices in the inſpector-general's books, and the current prices at market	—	—	155,440 18 5	
				621,763 13 10
		Total	£.	6,488,319 11 4

CHAP. III.

The amount is £. 6,488,319 11s. 4d. and this ſum is altogether excluſive of bullion, of which the annual import from theſe iſlands into Great Britain is very conſiderable: it is preſumed that, £.320,000 is a moderate average, which being added to the foregoing, gives a total of £.6,808,319 11s. 4d. I will call it ſix million eight hundred thouſand pounds only; and the calculation is confirmed by the teſtimony of a merchant of the firſt character and ability; who, in his evidence before a committee of the houſe of commons, has fixed on this ſum as the amount of the imports into Great Britain from the Britiſh Weſt Indies for the ſame year *.

Of the imports into Ireland and America, &c. directly from theſe iſlands, in 1788, no account, that I have ſeen, has been given to the public. I ſhall therefore adopt, from the authority of the inſpector general, thoſe of the year preceding, which ſtand thus:

To Ireland † —	£.127,585	4	5
American States	196,460	8	—
Britiſh American colonies —	100,506	17	10
Foreign Weſt Indies	18,245	12	6
Africa — —	868	15	—
Total	£.443,666	17	9

Add this ſum to the Britiſh import, and the whole yearly value of the produce of the Britiſh Weſt Indies,

* See the evidence of George Hibbert, Eſquire, merchant in London, before a ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, appointed to take examinations on the ſlave trade, 20th March, 1790.

† In official accounts before referred to of the Iriſh exports and imports, and ſubjoined at length in an Appendix to this volume, it appears that the value of the goods imported into

BOOK VI. Indies, excluſive of what is conſumed by the inhabitants themſelves, is ſeven million two hundred and forty-three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds ſeventeen ſhillings and nine-pence ſterling; all which is produced by the labour of 65,000 whites, and 455,000 blacks, being one hundred and eleven pounds for each white perſon, and thirteen pounds eighteen ſhillings and ſix-pence per head, per annum, for man, woman, and child, black and white, throughout all the Britiſh Weſt Indies.

From this immenſe ſupply, the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland received, in groſs duties, upwards of £.1,800,000 ſterling, excluſive of the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. collected in Barbadoes, and ſome other of the iſlands, and which being paid in kind, is, I preſume, included in the general imports above ſtated. Of the remainder, we have already ſeen how large a ſhare was the property of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the navigator. A further ſum, not leſs than £.1,037,000, muſt be placed to the ſame account, for freights and inſurance homewards, commiſſions on the ſale, and a long train of other charges. The balance, reduced, as it neceſſarily muſt be, by ſuch a multiplicity of claims and deductions, to a very ſmall proportion of the groſs returns, is paid over to the planters, their agents, mortgagees, or annuitants, moſt of whom are reſident in Great Britain, and by whom it is partly employed in extending cultivation in the Weſt Indies, and partly expended or inveſted in the mother country; in the one caſe giving vigour to induſ-

Ireland from the Britiſh Weſt Indies, has of late years greatly increaſed. In 1790 they amounted to £. 169,563 8*s*. 10*d*.—in 1791 to £.218,589 1*s*. 10*d*.—and in 1792 to £.225,774 14*s*. 3*d*. Theſe ſums are the currency of Ireland.

try,

try, in the other upholding the price of Britiſh lands, or the credit of the Britiſh funds. With great truth, therefore, did the merchants and planters declare to the houſe of commons, "that the ſugar colonies, and the commerce thereon dependant, have become the moſt conſiderable ſource of navigation and national wealth out of the limits of the mother country; and that no part of the national property can be more beneficially employed for the public, nor are any intereſts better entitled to the protection of the legiſlature, than theirs *."

CHAP. III.

I ſhall now ſtate the value of this great property, conſidered as Britiſh capital. In the report of the privy council, it is eſtimated at ſeventy millions of pounds ſterling, as follows: *viz.*

	£.
450,000 negroes at £.50 per head — —	22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utenſils, mules, &c. and crop on the ground, double the value of the negroes	45,000,000
Value of the houſes, &c. in the towns, the trading and coaſting veſſels, and their crews belonging to the iſlands — —	2,500,000
Total	70,000,000

Another

* The following are the particulars of freight and inſurance homewards, commiſſions, &c. as enumerated in the valuable chain of evidence by George Hibbert, Eſquire, before referred to, *viz.*

	£.
Received by the ſhip owners, for freight homewards, about — — —	560,000
Underwriters, for inſurance	150,000

BOOK VI.

Another mode propoſed by their lordſhips of aſcertaining the capital, is to reckon twelve years purchaſe on its annual produce, it being, they obſerve, not unuſual in the Weſt Indies, to ſell eſtates at that price. I think that the ſale of Weſt Indian eſtates at *ten* years purchaſe, is much more common; and reckoning the mercantile value of the capital at ſeven millions *per annum*, the reſult, by this mode of calculation, agrees preciſely with that of the former; a circumſtance which gives room to conclude, that it is nearly as accurate as the ſubject will admit.

There yet remains to be added, a brief ſtate of the ſhipping and ſeamen to which the ſugar colonies directly give employment; and it appears that the number of veſſels which in the year 1787 cleared from the ſeveral Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands for Great Britain and Ireland (including 14 from Honduras) were 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,936 men, being about nine ſeamen to every 100 tons: an extent of ſhipping nearly equal (as I have elſewhere obſerved) to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. At the ſame time it is not to be overlooked, that the ſeamen ſo employed, being in conſtant ſervice, are always at command; and on this account, they are a more valuable body of men than even the ſeamen employed in the Newfoundland fiſhery; of whom a great proportion remains in the country during the winter, and cannot therefore, on any ſudden emer-

	£.
Received by the Britiſh merchants and brokers, for commiſſions, &c.	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. including primage — —	95,000
	1,037,000

gency,

gency, be added to the naval force of the king- CHAP. dom *. III.

On a retroſpect of the whole, it may be truly affirmed, that the Britiſh ſugar iſlands in the Weſt Indies, (different in all reſpects from colonies in northern latitudes) anſwer in every point of view, and if I miſtake not, to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined, all the purpoſes and expectations for which colonies have been at any time eſtabliſhed. They furniſh (as we have ſeen) a ſure and excluſive market for the merchandize and manufactures of the mother country and her dependencies, to the yearly amount of very near four millions of pounds ſterling. They produce to an immenſe value,

* The French writers ſtate the number of ſhips employed in *their* Weſt Indian trade at 600, and the average of their burthen at 300 tons one with another: their ſeamen at 15,000. The following account of the average imports from the French ſugar iſlands, and the duties paid thereon, was publiſhed in 1785, *viz.*

AVERAGE IMPORTS.

130,000	caſks of ſugar valued at	90,000,000	livres.
60	millions of pounds of coffee	45,000,000	
2	millions of pounds of indigo	18,000,000	
1½	million of pounds of cacao	1,000,000	
3	millions of pounds of cotton	6,000,000	
	Total	160,000,000	

DUTIES.

Droits de domaine d'occident	5,600,000	livres.
Droits d'octroi a l'Amerique	7,344,000	
Duties on ſugar refined in France	4,592,000	
Duties on coffee	750,000	
Duties on indigo	37,500	
Total	18,323,500	

and

BOOK VI.

and in quantities not only ſufficient for her own conſumption, but alſo for a great export to foreign markets, many valuable and moſt neceſſary commodities, none of which interfere in any reſpect with her own productions; and moſt of which, as I ſhall demonſtrate hereafter, ſhe cannot obtain on equal terms elſewhere:—accompanied too with this peculiar benefit, that in the transfer of theſe articles from one part of her ſubjects to another part, not one ſhilling is taken from the general circulating wealth of the kingdom. Laſtly, they give ſuch employment to her ſhips and ſeamen, as while it ſupports and increaſes her navigation in time of peace, tends not in the ſmalleſt degree to obſtruct, but, on the contrary, contributes very eminently to aid and invigorate, her operations in war. It is evident therefore, that in eſtimating the value and importance of ſuch a ſyſtem, no juſt concluſions can be drawn, but by ſurveying it *comprehenſively*, and *in all its parts*, conſidering its ſeveral branches as connected with, and dependant on each other, and even then, the ſum of its advantages will exceed calculation. We are told indeed, among other objections which I ſhall conſider more at large in the concluding chapter of my work, that all the products of the Britiſh Weſt Indies may be purchaſed cheaper in the colonies of foreign nations. If the fact were true, as it certainly is not, it would furniſh no argument againſt the propriety and neceſſity of ſettling colonies of our own; becauſe it muſt be remembered, that foreign nations will allow few or none of our manufactures to be received in their colonies in payment: that their coloniſts contribute in no degree, by the inveſtment and expenditure of their profits, to augment the national wealth, nor, finally, do they give

give employment excluſively to Britiſh ſhipping. To what extent the naval power of Great Britain is dependant on her colonial commerce, it is difficult to aſcertain. If this trade be conſidered in all its channels, collateral and direct, connected as it is with our fiſheries, &c. perhaps it is not too much to affirm, that it maintains a merchant navy on which the maritime ſtrength of the kingdom ſo greatly depends, that we ſhould ceaſe to be a nation without it *.

* The following is a comparative view of the two greateſt branches of the Britiſh commerce; the Eaſt and Weſt Indian trades.

East Indian Trade.	West Indian Trade.
Capital employed. *Eighteen millions.*	Capital employed. *Seventy millions.*
Value of goods exported annually to India and China, both by the company and their officers. *One million and a half.*	Value of goods exported from Great Britain and her dependencies, including the profit of freight on the ſeveral branches of ſupply, inſurance, &c. *Three millions eight hundred thouſand pounds.*
Import ſales by the company, and ſales under licence. *Five millions.*	Imports into Great Britain and Ireland, and ſhipped to other parts, the profits of which center in Great Britain. *Seven millions two hundred thouſand pounds.*
Duties paid to government, cuſtoms, &c. *Seven hundred and ninety thouſand pounds.*	Duties paid to government. *One million eight hundred thouſand pounds.*
Chartered ſhipping of the company. *Eighty thouſand tons.*	Shipping employed direct. *One hundred and fifty thouſand tons.*

But the great difference ariſes from the circumſtance that the trade to the Weſt Indies is carried on with our own colonial poſſeſſions, which the ſettlements in the Eaſt never were, nor ever can, be conſidered.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their Value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages reſulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Meaſures adopted by Government on the Re-eſtabliſhment of Peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the Weſt Indies.—Oppoſition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Ship-builders at Home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final Opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Deſtruction of Negroes in the Weſt Indies in conſequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Preſent State and Value of the Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and the remaining Britiſh Provinces in America.—The ſame with the United States of America.—Inference from the Whole.

BOOK VI.

HAVING purpoſely reſerved for ſeparate diſcuſſion, the commercial intercourſe between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and North America, I ſhall now proceed to inveſtigate its nature and extent, as it ſubſiſted previous to the late unfortunate civil war: and offer ſome conſiderations on the policy of Great Britain, in the regulations and reſtrictions (as they affected the ſugar iſlands) which government afterwards thought proper to adopt concerning it, in conſequence of the acknowledgment of American independency: after which,

which, I ſhall endeavour to furniſh an account of the preſent ſtate of the Weſt Indian trade, both with the United States, and the continental colonies yet remaining to Great Britain. CHAP. IV.

It may, I think, be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that if ever there was any one particular branch of commerce in the world, that called leſs for reſtraint and limitation than any other, it was the trade which, previous to the year 1774, was carried on between the planters of the Weſt Indies and the inhabitants of North America. It was not a traffic calculated to anſwer the fantaſtic calls of vanity, or to adminiſter gratification to luxury or vice; but to procure food for the hungry, and to furniſh materials (ſcarce leſs important than food) for ſupplying the planters in two capital objects, their buildings, and packages for their chief ſtaple productions, ſugar and rum. Of the neceſſity they were under on the latter account, an idea may be formed from the ſtatement in the preceding chapter of the importation of thoſe commodities into Great Britain; the cultivation of which muſt abſolutely have ſtopped without the means of conveying them to market.

For the ſupply of thoſe eſſential articles, lumber, fiſh, flour, and grain, America ſeems to have been happily fitted, as well from internal circumſtances, as her commodious ſituation; and it is to a neighbourly intercourſe with that continent, continued during one hundred and thirty years, that our ſugar plantations in a great meaſure owe their proſperity; inſomuch that, according to the opinion of a very competent judge *, if the continent had been wholly in the hands of a foreign power, and the Engliſh precluded from all com-

* Mr. Long.

merce

BOOK VI.

merce or intercourſe with it, it is a very doubtful point, whether, in ſuch caſe, we ſhould at this hour have poſſeſſed a ſingle acre of land in the Weſt Indies.

The following is an official account of the total import from North America into the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, atteſted by Mr. Stanley, ſecretary to the commiſſioners of cuſtoms in London, dated the 15th of March, 1775.

An ACCOUNT of the total Import from North America into the Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands, in the Years 1771, 1772, and 1773.

Species of Goods.	From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Boards and Timber, Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles, - - - No.	59,586,194	185,000	
Staves, - - No.	57,998,661	27,350	
Hoops, - - No.	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn, - - Buſhs.	1,204,389	24	
Peaſe and Beans, - Do.	64,006	1,017	
Bread and Flour, Bbls.	396,329	991	
Ditto, - - Kegs	13,099		
Rice, - - Bbls.	39,912		
Ditto, - - Tierces	21,777		
Fiſh, - - Hhds.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto, - - Bbls.	47,686	664	202
Ditto, - - Quintals	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto, - - Kegs	3,304	609	
Beef and Pork, Bbls.	44,782	170	24
Poultry, - - Dozs.	2,739	10	
Horſes, - - No.	7,130	28	
Oxen, - - No.	3,647		
Sheep and Hogs, - No.	13,815		
Oil, - - Bbls.	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine, - Do.	17,024		
Maſts, - - No.	157		
Spars, - - No.	3,074	30	

Shook

Species of Goods.	From the United States.	From Canada and Nova Scotia.	From Newfoundland.
Shook Caſks - - No.	53,857	40	141
Soap and Candles, Boxes	20,475		
Ox Bows and Yokes, - - No.	1,540		
Houſe Frames, - No.	620		
Iron, - - Tons	399¼		

Of this great ſupply, the value at the ports of delivery, including freight, was £.2,160,000 ſterling, or £.720,000 annually; conſiſting of about 1,200 annual cargoes; but it is proper to obſerve, that the veſſels employed in this trade (which were generally ſloops and ſchooners, ſingle-decked, and without topmaſts) commonly made two, and ſometimes three voyages in the year; ſo that the actual number never exceeded in any one year 533, which were navigated by 3,339 ſeamen, including negroes: of the latter, the number was eſtimated at about 1,000. Thus, the ſhortneſs and cheapneſs of the navigation in a great degree ſupported the trade.

The chief articles with which the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands ſupplied America, in return for the produce of that continent, were ſugar, rum, melaſſes, and coffee. Of rum, the quantity annually ſhipped thither, before the war, on an average of three years, was 2,800,000 gallons; and the quantity of melaſſes was 250,000 gallons. This laſt may be conſidered as ſo much additional rum, each gallon of melaſſes producing an equal quantity of ſpirit of the American proof, which augmented the annual ſupply of that article to 3,050,000 gallons. The ſupply of ſugar was eſtimated at 5,000 hogſheads, of 16 cwt.; and of coffee, at about 400,000 lbs. The value of the whole (including ſome other ſmall articles) was £.420,000 ſterling, leaving a balance of £.300,000 in

BOOK VI. in favour of the Americans, which was commonly paid in dollars, or bills of exchange, furniſhing them ſo far with the means of remittance to Great Britain, in reduction of their debts to the Britiſh merchants.

From this account of the exports from the Britiſh Weſt Indies to the continental cōlonies, it appears that America, beſides affording an inexhauſtible ſource of ſupply, was alſo a ſure market for the diſpoſal of the planters *ſurplus* productions; ſuch, I mean, for which there was no ſufficient vent in Europe, eſpecially rum; the whole importation of that article into Great Britain and Ireland, having been little more than half the quantity conſumed in America. On whatever ſide therefore this trade is conſidered, it will be found that Great Britain ultimately received the chief benefits reſulting from it; for the ſugar planters, by being cheaply and regularly ſupplied with horſes, proviſions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the ſyſtem of management not only moſt advantageous to themſelves, but alſo to the mother country. Much of that land which otherwiſe muſt have been applied to the cultivation of proviſions, for the maintenance of their negroes and the raiſing of cattle, was appropriated to the cultivation of ſugar. By this means the quantity of ſugar and rum (the moſt profitable of their ſtaples) had increaſed to a ſurpriſing degree, and the Britiſh revenues, navigation, and general commerce, were proportionably augmented, aggrandized, and extended. Having an advantageous market for their rum, the planters were enabled to deal ſo much the more largely with the mother country. On the other hand, the Americans, being annually indebted to Great Britain for manufactures, in a larger ſum than their returns of tobacco,

bacco, indigo, rice, and naval ſtores were ſufficient to diſcharge, made up the deficiency, in a great degree, by means of their circuitous trade in the Weſt Indies, foreign as well as Britiſh; and were thus enabled to extend their dealings with Great Britain. Thus the effect was juſt as advantageous to her, as if the ſugar planter himſelf had been the purchaſer to the ſame amount, inſtead of the American. CHAP. IV.

Such having been the nature, neceſſity, and advantage of this commercial intercourſe, there was certainly every reaſon to expect that, on the termination of hoſtilities, the ſyſtem which had unavoidably been interrupted and deranged during the war, would revive as of courſe, and be re-eſtabliſhed under every poſſible encouragement.

By what means this reaſonable expectation proved ill-founded and abortive, and the fatal conſequences which flowed from the meaſures reſorted to by the Britiſh government, I ſhall now proceed to point out.

The preliminary articles of peace were ſigned at Verſailles, on the 27th of January, 1783; ſoon after which, the Houſe of Commons having paſſed a vote of cenſure on the treaty (with what regard to juſtice or conſiſtency, it is not my buſineſs at preſent to inquire) this event was followed by the reſignation of the miniſtry by whom the treaty was adjuſted. The new adminiſtration, it may be preſumed, had too many objects to attend to, on their firſt elevation to power, to find leiſure for conſidering the buſineſs of a commercial treaty with America. As, however, it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to repeal the prohibitory laws which had exiſted during the war, this was done by an act paſſed for that purpoſe; but as to the reſt, parliament

BOOK VI.

parliament took the ſhorteſt courſe poſſible to ſave themſelves trouble, by veſting in the crown, for a limited time, authority to regulate the commerce with America in ſuch manner as his Majeſty in council ſhould deem expedient *.

New and extraordinary as it certainly was, that ſuch extenſive authority ſhould be delegated by parliament to the executive power, neither this circumſtance, nor the proclamation, or order of council, that iſſued in conſequence of it, on the 2d of July, 1783 (afterwards renewed annually) excited much inquiry. Although by this proclamation, the importation into the Britiſh Weſt Indies of every ſpecies of naval ſtores, ſtaves, and lumber, live-ſtock, flour, and grain of all kinds, the growth of the American ſtates, was confined to Britiſh ſhips legally navigated; and the export to thoſe ſtates of Weſt Indian productions, was made ſubject to the ſame reſtriction; while many neceſſary articles (as ſalted beef and pork, fiſh, and train oil) formerly ſupplied by America, were prohibited altogether, it was conſidered as a meaſure merely temporary and experimental; and until a plan of permanent regulation ſhould be agreed to by both countries, it was thought neither impolitic nor unjuſt, that Great Britain ſhould reſerve in her own hands the power of reſtraining or relaxing her ſyſtem of commercial arrangements, as circumſtances might ariſe to render the exerciſe of ſuch a power prudent and neceſſary.

In theſe reaſons the Weſt Indian merchants, and ſuch of the planters as were reſident in Great Britain, acquieſced; but on the firſt meeting of a new parliament, in May 1784, (another change having taken place in the mean time in the Britiſh adminiſtration) the buſineſs of a commercial in-

* Vide Stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 39.

tercourſe

tercourſe between the Weſt Indies and the States of America, preſſed itſelf on the attention of government with a force which was not to be reſiſted. Petitions, complaints, and remonſtrances, were poured in from almoſt every iſland in the Weſt Indies. Some of the petitioners repreſented that they had not ſix weeks proviſions in ſtore, and all of them anticipated the moſt dreadful conſequences, if the ſyſtem of reſtriction ſhould be much longer perſiſted in; expecting nothing leſs than a general revolt of their ſlaves, in the apprehenſion of periſhing of hunger. CHAP. IV.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the remaining continental colonies, eſpecially ſuch of the new ſettlers there as were emigrants from the United States, promiſed to themſelves the acquiſition of ſudden and immenſe riches from the vaſt advance of price which it was foreſeen their few exports, when no longer depreſſed by competition, would obtain at thoſe markets. Every exertion, public and private, was therefore made by their friends in Great Britain, to convince adminiſtration, and innumerable pamphlets were circulated to ſatisfy the public, that the Weſt Indies might be very amply ſupplied with every article of North American produce (rice excepted) from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Iſland of Saint John. Hence they not only ſtrenuouſly recommended a ſteady adherence to the ſyſtem of reſtriction on the part of Great Britain, but openly expreſſed their wiſhes, that the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, Britiſh ſhips from trading in the ports of America. They declared, that ſuch a determination on the part of the United States, would at once raiſe Canada and Nova Scotia from the ground, and execute that meaſure which wiſe men wiſh for, "as the ſyſtem that Great Britain

"ought

BOOK VI. "ought ſpontaneouſly to adopt *;" meaning, I preſume, to cut off all intercourſe whatever with her late revolted ſubjects. The complaints and remonſtrances of the Weſt Indians, they treated as the turbulence of diſappointed faction. They accuſed them, while "wallowing in wealth," of having abetted the American rebellion †, and their apprehenſions of a ſcarcity of food were ſpurned at and ridiculed, as if hunger was no part of our nature.

It is impoſſible, I think, not to perceive in theſe, and ſimilar arguments, a lurking taint of reſentment and malignity, the relics of former provocation againſt the Americans; and at leaſt as ardent a deſire to wound the new republic, through the ſides of the Weſt Indians, as to benefit Nova Scotia at their expence. Theſe paſſions are among the frailties of our nature, and may be forgiven. But there was another, and a numerous claſs of people, who ſtood forward on this occaſion, in ſupport of the ſyſtem of reſtriction and monopoly, on different ground: theſe were the ſhipbuilders, ſhip owners, and their various dependants in London; who affected to believe, that if American ſhips were ſuffered to take ſugar from our iſlands, they would convey it—not to America, but—to foreign countries, and rob us of the carriage of it; or they might, it was alledged, enter into a competition with Britiſh ſhips for the freight of goods to Great Britain. To this it was anſwered, that a limitation of tonnage to ſhips employed in the American intercourſe, to which the planters would not object, confining it to veſſels having only one deck, and not exceeding ſeventy or eighty tons, muſt ſatisfy the moſt

* See Mr. Chalmers's Tract, entitled, "Opinions on Intereſting Subjects," &c. † Ibid.

ſcrupulous

ſcrupulous on that head; inaſmuch as ſuch veſſels could never be employed in tranſporting ſugar acroſs the Atlantic, nor could they be got inſured if ſuch attempts ſhould be made. But although this anſwer muſt have ſatisfied every well-informed and conſiderate perſon, it was found inſufficient to ſilence the clamour which at that time was induſtriouſly propagated on the ſubject of the carrying trade, as if the future exiſtence of the commercial navigation of Great Britain had been involved in the diſcuſſion.

The conſideration of the whole matter was referred by the miniſter to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade, by whom many of the Weſt Indian merchants and planters, reſident in Great Britain, were interrogated on the ſubject; and the writer of this had the honour to be of the number. It was readily admitted by the ſugar planters, that, on every principle of honour, humanity, and juſtice, the unfortunate loyaliſts of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled to a preference of their cuſtom, provided thoſe provinces poſſeſſed, in any degree, the means of ſupplying their wants; but this, they contended, was the main point in diſpute. They therefore requeſted, that before any permanent regulations ſhould be adopted by government, inquiry might be made, 1ſt. How much of the annual conſumption of American ſtaples, thoſe provinces had ſupplied hitherto? And, 2dly. how far, from their preſent, or probably future, ſituation, they might be ſuppoſed capable of exceeding their former produce and exports?

Such an inquiry was accordingly entered upon, and abundance of evidence collected on the ſubject; when it appeared, from the cuſtom-houſe returns, that of 1208 cargoes of lumber and proviſions

BOOK VI. viſions imported from North America into the Britiſh ſugar colonies, in 1772, only ſeven of thoſe cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia; and that of 701 topſail veſſels, and 1681 ſloops, which had cleared outwards from North America to the Britiſh and foreign Weſt Indies, only two of the topſail veſſels, and eleven of the ſloops, were from thoſe provinces. It ſtood therefore incontrovertibly proved, that, previous to the war, the ſupplies which they afforded, did not amount to a proportion of the whole conſumption of the ſugar iſlands, in any degree worthy national attention; and, on the ſecond ground of inquiry, it was ſhewn reſpecting Canada, not only that the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence was ſo greatly obſtructed by the ice in the winter, and by weſterly winds in the ſummer, as to render more than one voyage in the year impracticable; but that in the province itſelf, the climate renders the crops of wheat altogether precarious. It was proved, that in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the ſcarcity in Canada had been ſuch, as to occaſion the export of all bread, wheat, and flour, to be prohibited by authority; and it was ſhewn that, at the very time of the inquiry, a ſhip in the river Thames was actually loading with flour for Quebec. On the whole, it appeared that, although in favourable ſeaſons (as in 1774) there might ſometimes be found an overplus of grain, beyond the conſumption of the inhabitants, yet that a regular and ſufficient ſupply could by no means be depended on from that province; that the frequency of diſappointment muſt prove an inſurmountable obſtruction to new inhabitants ſettling there with a view to the cultivation of wheat; and, with regard to lumber, the price of labour in Canada was ſuch, as to cut off all hopes of

ſupply

ſupply from thence, even if the navigation had been ſubject to no delay and obſtacle whatever. CHAP. IV.

Reſpecting Nova Scotia, it was ſhewn that it never had, at any one period, produced grain ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of its inhabitants: it had never exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandize; and ſo far from having any to export, it appeared that a conſiderable importation into the province was at that time taking place, from the oppoſite ſide of the bay of Fundy, to enable the new ſettlers at Port Roſeway to build houſes for their own reſidence.

Laſtly, as to the iſland of Saint John, it was proved that, like Nova Scotia, it had never yet furniſhed food enough to keep its few inhabitants alive, nor exported any one article the produce of the iſland. Its ſituation, within the gulph of Saint Lawrence, ſhut it up from all intercourſe during five months of the year; and its fogs, more prevalent and durable than even thoſe of Nova Scotia, rendered the country too uncomfortable for population, while land remained unoccupied in happier climates.

The advocates for the prohibitory ſyſtem, however, were not eaſily ſilenced. They declared it would be more for the intereſt of Great Britain, that the Weſt Indians ſhould be deprived of American ſupplies altogether, rather than, by receiving them from the United States in American veſſels, contribute to aggrandize the naval power of the new republic. They maintained, that the ſugar iſlands had reſources within themſelves, which, with occaſional aid from Great Britain, might enable them to exiſt very comfortably, even though the accuſtomed intercourſe with all parts of the American continent was entirely cut off. If not, it was triumphantly aſked, in what man-

BOOK VI.

ner were they ſupported during the war, when all regular communication with the United States was ſuppreſſed?

In reply to this objection, it was proved that the Britiſh ſugar iſlands, during the war, had been very badly ſupplied, both with lumber and proviſions; and at an expence which, if it had continued, would have been equally ruinous with the not being ſupplied at all. Their chief reſource was the American veſſels that had been captured in their way to the French iſlands; a reſource which had terminated with the war, and at beſt proved ſo uncertain and inadequate, that many of the Britiſh iſlands had been driven by neceſſity to the worſt of all applications (as Britiſh coloniſts) of their labour; the raiſing proviſions, and cutting lumber upon their own eſtates. Inſtead of directing their attention to the culture of thoſe valuable and bulky ſtaples which contribute, in ſo eminent a degree, to form the dignified maſs of ſupport which the Britiſh navigation derives from her diſtant colonies, they had been compelled to change their ſyſtem: They had abandoned the cultivation of ſugar, and applied their land and labour to the purpoſes of raiſing food. In what degree the Britiſh navigation and commerce had ſuffered by this meaſure, the cuſtom-houſe books would demonſtrate:—From that authority it would appear, that in 1777, previous to the capture by the French of any of the ſugar iſlands, the import of ſugar into England only, had fallen ſhort of the import of 1774 upwards of 45,000 hogſheads, of 16 cwt.; in value nearly one million, creating a loſs in freight of £.150,000 on that article alone, and a defalcation in the public revenue of £.300 a day, for every day in the year! Here then, it was ſaid, was a full and ſatiſfactory

factory refutation of the popular clamour on the CHAP. IV.
ſubject of the carrying trade. Compared with theſe loſſes, and their conſequences to every part of the empire, ſo inconſiderable, ſo truly contemptible was the trifling interference of American ſhallops, carrying food to invigorate the hungry labourer, and timbers to repair mills and houſes, that it ſeemed not to be an object deſerving a moment's ſolicitude in the breaſt of a great nation.

Such were, in part, the evidence and arguments offered on behalf of the Weſt Indies; and if the queſtion had met with unprejudiced and temperate diſcuſſion, I am inclined to think, notwithſtanding the jealous and monopolizing ſpirit of traffic, that regulations widely different from the preſent ſyſtem of reſtriction and excluſion towards America, would have been eſtabliſhed; but, unfortunately, the private intereſts of ſome, and the prejudices and paſſions of others, were allowed to mingle in the inveſtigation. I am aware that, in common caſes, it ill becomes an undiſtinguiſhed individual to arraign the wiſdom and propriety of the national councils; but although there is a degree of reſpect due to men in authority, which I would willingly preſerve, yet I dare not maintain it either by the violation or the ſuppreſſion of truth. The conſequences which flowed from the proceedings recommended and adopted on this occaſion, will preſently be ſeen; and they cannot be remembered with indifference. To ſuppreſs facts, therefore, in which the intereſts of humanity are ſo deeply concerned, is to ſacrifice both the dignity and utility of hiſtory; the great end of which is to make the errors and miſconduct of one ſet of men, a leſſon and a warning to their ſucceſſors.

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BOOK VI.

The caſe was, to ſpeak plainly and undiſguiſedly, that the committee of council, to whom the conſideration of this important buſineſs devolved (with the beſt intentions I believe, for it cannot be ſuppoſed that they wiſhed to injure the Weſt Indian colonies) ſuffered themſelves to be guided in their reſearches by men who had reſentments to gratify, and ſecret purpoſes to promote. Some of theſe, were perſons whom America had proſcribed for their loyalty, and unjuſtly deprived of their poſſeſſions. That they had become, on this account, objects of compaſſion, and claimants on the public of Great Britain, I have no wiſh to deny; but, without doubt, they were the laſt men in the world whoſe opinions ſhould have been adopted, concerning the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of reciprocity and conveniency between this country, and that which they had left. To ſuppoſe that ſuch men were capable of giving an impartial and unbiaſſed teſtimony in ſuch a caſe, is to ſuppoſe they had diveſted themſelves of the common feelings of mankind.

The firſt inquiries of the committee of council (thus influenced) were directed to diſprove the aſſertions contained in an addreſs of the aſſembly of Jamaica, concerning the diſtreſs in which that iſland was ſtated to be, at that time, involved, from the want of proviſions and lumber. Although thoſe aſſertions were abundantly confirmed by the declarations and ſubſequent conduct of the governor himſelf, to whom the addreſs was preſented *; their lordſhips reported, that the aſſembly were by no means warranted in the ſtrong terms they had uſed; it appearing, they ſaid, "from private letters laid before them, that the ſcarcity complain-

* Sir Arch. Campbell.

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ed of *did not exiſt.*" When their lordſhips were humbly deſired to communicate the names of the parties who had written ſuch letters, that ſome judgment might be formed what degree of credit was due to their teſtimony, againſt that of the legiſlature of the colony, they refuſed, with tokens of manifeſt diſpleaſure, to diſcloſe them. CHAP. IV.

Their lordſhips, in the next place, proceeded to eſtimate the reſources of Canada and Nova Scotia; and, in contradiction to the evidence and concluſions which had been given and adduced by the Weſt Indian merchants and planters, they aſſerted, in general terms, " that the exportation of grain from Canada would revive and increaſe, provided the Weſt Indian market was ſecured to the inhabitants of that province;" and they added, " that ſeveral perſons of great experience, were of opinion, that an annual export of 300,000 buſhels might in a few years be depended on." They admitted that the natural impediments in the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence, might affect the ſupply of lumber, but denied that this circumſtance would injure the trade in flour. They ſtated " that Nova Scotia would be able in about three years to ſupply great quantities of lumber, and moſt of the other articles which the Weſt Indies are in want of from North America, provided grants of land were properly made and ſecured to the inhabitants; for that (although the ſea coaſt is rocky and barren) the interior parts, and the banks of the rivers, have as fine a ſoil as any part of the world, *admirably fitted for dairy farms, and the growth of garden vegetables.*"

They averred, " that the climate of Nova Scotia is fine and healthy; that the new ſettlers were induſtrious, and that the neutral French who ſtill remain (when no longer in a precarious ſtate with

BOOK VI. reſpect to the government under which they are to live) would probably follow the example of the new ſettlers, and learn from them to improve the country; eſpecially if due encouragement ſhould be given to their induſtry, by ſecuring them proper markets. Their lordſhips were further aſſured, from good authority, that upon the like encouragement, the population of Nova Scotia would be increaſed.

Such a detail of probabilities, proviſoes, and poſſible contingencies, with the mention, among other reſources, of *dairy farms and garden vegetables*, ſeemed, to the diſappointed planters, ſomething very like deriſion and mockery. They complained, that inſtead of aſſurances of relief, they were put off with airy conjectures, with frivolous *ifs* and *may be's*; with promiſes inconſiſtent with the laws of nature, and with declarations negatived both by experience and reaſon!

In truth, the argument which appeared to have moſt weight with their lordſhips themſelves, was that which (tacitly admitting all expectation of ſupply from Canada and Nova Scotia to be chimerical and deluſive) took for granted, that by excluding American ſhips from the ports of the Weſt Indies, Great Britain would find full employment for as many additional veſſels as America formerly employed in that commerce, and reap all the profits which America reaped, of which they calculated the freightage alone, at the annual ſum of £.245,000 ſterling.

On the whole, the lords of the committee ſtrongly recommended a ſtrict and rigid adherence to the meaſure of confining the intercourſe between our Weſt Indian Iſlands and America, to Britiſh ſhips only, as a regulation of abſolute neceſſity; conſidering any deviation from it, as expoſing

expoſing the commerce and navigation of Great Britain to the rivalry of revolted ſubjects, now become ill affected aliens. They expreſſed, indeed, ſome apprehenſion, leſt the congreſs of the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting in return Britiſh veſſels from being the carriers between them and the Britiſh Weſt Indies; but ſeemed to think this circumſtance not very probable, inaſmuch as the people of the United States would, in that caſe, they ſaid, ſuffer much more than any of his Majeſty's ſubjects; a concluſion not very deciſive; the experience of all ages abundantly proving, that conſiderations of intereſt are frequently overpowered by motives of reſentment.

Theſe doctrines and opinions of the lords of the committee of council were unfortunately approved and adopted in their fulleſt extent by the Britiſh government; and the only ſolitary hope which now remained to the inhabitants of the Weſt Indies was, that the apprehenſion of their lordſhips, concerning American retaliation, was ill founded; and that the United States, notwithſtanding the prohibitory ſyſtem of Great Britain, would ſtill open their ports to Britiſh ſhipping; and freely indulge them with the liberty of importing the products of the Britiſh ſugar iſlands; carrying away American produce in return. The planters could not indeed but foreſee a very great expence, delay, and uncertainty, attending ſuch circuitous navigation; but to this they were prepared to ſubmit, as the only alternative of eſcaping inevitable and impending deſtruction.

But there was this misfortune attending the ſugar planters, that their wants were immediate; and of a complexion affecting not only property, but life. Whatever reſources might ultimately be

BOOK VI. be found in the opulence and faculties of the mother country, it was impoſſible, in the nature of things, to expect from ſo diſtant a quarter an adequate ſupply to a vaſt and various demand, coming ſuddenly and unexpectedly. Many of the ſugar iſlands too had ſuffered dreadfully under two tremendous hurricanes, in 1780 and 1781, in conſequence whereof (had it not been for the caſual aſſiſtance obtained from prize veſſels) one-half of their negroes muſt abſolutely have periſhed of hunger. Should ſimilar viſitations occur, the moſt dreadful apprehenſions would be realized; and I am ſorry to add, *that realized they were!*

I have now before me a report of a committee of the aſſembly of Jamaica, on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, wherein the loſs of negroes in that iſland, in conſequence of thoſe awful concuſſions of nature, and the want of ſupplies from America, is incidently ſtated. It is a document of the beſt authority; and the following extract from it, while it abundantly acquits the Weſt Indian merchants and planters from the charge of turbulence and faction, which on this occaſion was illiberally brought againſt them, will, I hope, ſerve as an awful leſſon to future miniſters how they ſuffer the ſelfiſhneſs of party, and the prejudice of perſonal reſentment, to have an influence in the national councils.

"We ſhall now (ſay the committee) point out the principal cauſes to which this mortality of our ſlaves is juſtly chargeable. It is but too well known to the houſe, that in the ſeveral years 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleaſed Divine Providence to viſit this iſland with repeated hurricanes, which ſpread deſolation throughout moſt parts of the iſland; but the pariſhes which

which ſuffered more remarkably than the reſt, were thoſe of Weſtmoreland, Hanover, Saint James, Trelawny, Portland, and Saint Thomas in the Eaſt. By theſe deſtructive viſitations, the plantain walks, which furniſh the chief article of ſupport to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intenſe droughts which followed, deſtroyed thoſe different ſpecies of ground proviſions which the hurricanes had not reached. The ſtorms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign ſupplies, except a trifling aſſiſtance from prize-veſſels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine enſued in the leeward parts of the iſland, which deſtroyed many thouſand negroes. After the ſtorm of the 30th of July, 1784, the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his council, publiſhed a proclamation, dated the 7th of Auguſt, permitting the free importation of proviſions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too ſhort a time to give ſufficient notice, and obtain all the ſupplies that were neceſſary, the ſmall quantities of flour, rice, and other proviſions, which were imported in conſequence of the proclamation, ſoon roſe to ſo exorbitant a price as to induce the aſſembly, on the 9th of November following, to preſent an addreſs to the Lieutenant Governor, requeſting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March 1785; obſerving, that it was impoſſible for the natural productions of the country to come to ſuch maturity as to be wholeſome food, before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this addreſs was preſented, the Lieutenant Governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1ſt of December following, the houſe repreſented, that a prolongation of the

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BOOK VI.

term was then abſolutely neceſſary: They obſerve that, perſuaded of the reluctance with which his honour would be brought to deviate from regulations which he felt himſelf bound to obſerve, it would give them much concern to addreſs him on the ſame occaſion a ſecond time, were they not convinced that it was in a caſe of ſuch extreme neceſſity as to juſtify ſuch a deviation. Accordingly, the Lieutenant Governor, by the advice of his Majeſty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited ſhould be extended to the 31ſt of January then next enſuing (1785): but, at the ſame time, he informed the houſe, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer from the regulations which had been eſtabliſhed in Great Britain.

From the 31ſt of January, 1785, therefore, the ports continued ſhut, and the ſufferings of the poor negroes, in conſequence thereof, for ſome months afterwards, were extreme: Providentially, the ſeaſons became more favourable about May, and conſiderable quantities of corn and ground proviſions were gathered in by the month of Auguſt; when the fourth ſtorm happened, and the Lieutenant Governor immediately ſhut the ports againſt the exportation of any of our proviſions to the French and Spaniſh iſlands, which were ſuppoſed to have ſuffered more than ourſelves; but not thinking himſelf at liberty to permit the importation of proviſions in American veſſels, the productions of the country were ſoon exhauſted, and the uſual attendants of ſcanty and unwholeſome diet, dropſies and epidemic dyſenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the ſpring and ſummer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country.

On

On the 20th of October in that year, happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid waſte the leeward pariſhes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the conſequences which followed, leſt we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the ſubject will admit, the number of our ſlaves whoſe deſtruction may be fairly attributed to theſe repeated calamities, and the unfortunate meaſure of interdicting foreign ſupplies, and for this purpoſe compared the imports and returns of negroes for the laſt ſeven years, with thoſe of ſeven years preceding, we heſitate not, after every allowance for adventitious cauſes, to fix the whole loſs at fifteen thouſand: THIS NUMBER WE FIRMLY BELIEVE TO HAVE PERISHED OF FAMINE, OR OF DISEASES CONTRACTED BY SCANTY AND UNWHOLESOME DIET, BETWEEN THE LATTER END OF 1780, AND THE BEGINNING OF 1787."

Such (without including the loſs of negroes in the other iſlands, and the conſequent diminution in their cultivation and returns) was the price at which Great Britain thought proper to retain her excluſive right of ſupplying her ſugar iſlands with food and neceſſaries! Common charity muſt compel us to believe (as I verily *do* believe) that this dreadful proſcription of ſo many thouſand innocent people, the poor, unoffending negroes, was neither intended nor forſeen by thoſe who recommended the meaſures that produced it. Certainly no ſuch proof was wanting to demonſtrate that the reſentments of party too frequently ſuperſede the common feelings of our nature. It is indeed true, that the evil did at length in ſome meaſure furniſh its own remedy: The inhabitants of Jamaica, by appropriating part of their lands and

BOOK VI. and labour to the raiſing of proviſions, and the hewing of ſtaves, found ſome reſource within themſelves; and, happily for the other iſlands, the United States did not, as was apprehended, adopt any ſcheme of retaliation; ſo that Britiſh veſſels ultimately obtained the profits of the carriage (whatever it was) between the Weſt Indies and America; and thus at length the ſyſtem became recognized and confirmed by the legiſlature *.

But,

* By the 28th Geo. III. c. 6. which took effect the 4th of April 1788, it is enacted, "That no goods or commodities whatever ſhall be imported or brought from any of the territories belonging to the United States of America, into any of his Majeſty's Weſt India Iſlands (in which deſcription the Bahama Iſlands, and the Bermuda, or Somers Iſlands, are included) under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and alſo of the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame ſhall be ſo imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel; except tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, maſts, yards, bowſprits, ſtaves, heading, boards, timber, ſhingles, and lumber of any ſort; horſes, neat cattle, ſheep, hogs, poultry, and live ſtock of any ſort; bread, biſcuit, flour, peaſe, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any ſort, ſuch commodities, reſpectively, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the ſaid United States of America: And that none of the goods or commodities herein before excepted, enumerated, and deſcribed, ſhall be imported or brought into any of the ſaid iſlands from the territories of the ſaid United States, under the like penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and alſo of the ſhip or veſſel in which the ſame ſhall be ſo imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, except by Britiſh ſubjects and in Britiſh-built ſhips, owned by his Majeſty's ſubjects, and navigated according to law. By another clauſe, none of the aforeſaid articles are to be brought from any of the foreign iſlands, under the like penalty, except in times of public emergency and diſtreſs, when the governors of any of our iſlands, with the advice and conſent of the council, may authorize the importation of them by Britiſh ſubjects in Britiſh-built ſhips for a limited time." Such is the law as it now ſtands with regard

But, whatever benefit has accrued to the mother country, from the regulations and arrangements which the Britiſh parliament thus confirmed and perpetuated, it is certain that her remaining colonies in North America, at whoſe inſtance and for whoſe benefit, the ſcheme of excluſion and reſtriction was principally promoted, derived few or none of thoſe advantages from the meaſure, which they had promiſed to themſelves in the outſet. They diſcovered, when it was too late, that the decrees of Providence were irrevocable. The river Saint Lawrence remained, as uſual, locked up ſeven months in the year by an impenetrable barrier of ice; and Nova Scotia ſtill continued devoted to inexorable ſterility; ſo much ſo indeed, that the very men who, in 1784, had confidently repreſented this province as being capable, in the courſe of three years, of ſupplying all the Weſt Indies with lumber and proviſions, found it neceſſary, at the end of thoſe three years, to apply for and obtain the inſertion of a clauſe in the prohibitory act, to authoriſe the admiſſion of both lumber and proviſions into that province from the United States. On this circumſtance it is unneceſſary to anticipate the reflections of the reader!

In conſequence of this permiſſion, there were ſhipped in the year 1790, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone, 540,000 ſtaves and head-

gard to the import of American articles into the Britiſh Weſt Indies: Concerning the export of Britiſh Weſt Indian produce to the United States, it is permitted to export, in ſhips Britiſh-built and owned, any goods or commodities whatſoever, which were not, at the time of paſſing the act, prohibited to be exported to any foreign country in Europe, and alſo ſugar, melaſſes, coffee, cocoa-nuts, ginger, and pimento; bond being given for the due landing of the ſame in the United States.

ing,

BOOK VI.

ing, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 ſhingles, and 16,000 hoops; 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 buſhels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no ſurplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own conſumption, or undoubtedly the Canadian market would have been reſorted to, in preference to that of the United States. And thus vaniſh all the golden dreams and deluſive promiſes of a ſufficient ſupply from Canada and Nova Scotia to anſwer the wants of the Weſt Indies; and the predictions of the planters and merchants have been verified and confirmed by the experience of years. I regret that I am unable to furniſh the reader with an accurate account of the actual exports from thoſe provinces to the Weſt Indies ſince the war (the report of the committee of council on the ſlave trade, though fraught with information in all other caſes that relate to the commerce of the colonies, being ſilent on this head) or of the fiſh which they ſend annually to the ſugar iſlands.—The quantity of this latter article imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies from Newfoundland, on an average of four years (1783 to 1786, both incluſive) was 80,645 quintals*.

The

* The imports into Jamaica from Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, between the 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October, 1784, have been ſtated in a Report of the Aſſembly of that Iſland. The negative catalogue is very copious. No flour,—no ſhip-bread or biſcuit, no Indian corn, or other meal,—no horſes, cattle, ſheep, hogs, or poultry.—The only proviſions were, one hundred and eighty buſhels of potatoes, and 751 hogſheads and about 500 barrels of ſalted fiſh,—rather a ſcanty allowance for the maintenance of 30,000 white people, and 250,000 blacks, for the ſpace of nineteen months!—Of lumber, &c. the quantity was 510,088 feet, 20 bundles of hoops, and 301,324 ſhingles.——Previous to the war, on an average of the five years from 1768 to 1772, the whole imports into

The exports, for the year 1787, from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands to all our remaining American poſſeſſions, Newfoundland included, conſiſted of 9,891 cwt. of ſugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of melaſſes, 200 lbs. of piemento, 575 cwt. of coffee, 1,750 lbs. of cotton wool, and ſome ſmall articles, fruit, &c. of little account; the value of the whole, agreeably to the current prices in London, was £.100,506 17*s.* 10*d.* ſterling, and the ſhipping to which it gave employment was nominally 17,873 tons, navigated by 1,397 ſeamen.—As this however includes repeated voyages, the quantity of tonnage and the number of men muſt be reduced one half. CHAP. IV.

To the United States of America the ſame year the exports in Britiſh ſhipping were theſe: 19,921 cwt. of ſugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124 $\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4,200 gallons of melaſſes, 6,450 lbs. of piemento, 3,246 lbs. of coffee, 3,000 lbs. of cotton wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit.

The value in ſterling money, according to the prices current in London, was £.196,460 8*s.* as hath been ſtated in the former chapter *. The amount of the freight on theſe exports, and alſo on American productions ſupplied the Weſt Indies, is the monopoly which Great Britain has exacted by her late regulations. It cannot therefore be ſaid, that if ſhe has loſt much, ſhe has gained nothing; but eſtimating her profit at the

into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogſheads of fiſh, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36 thouſand of ſhingles and ſtaves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

* Number of veſſels (including repeated voyages) 386, tonnage 43,380, men 2,854.

BOOK VI. utmoſt, to what does it amount, compared with the coſt of the purchaſe? Admitting it even to ſtand at the ſum fixed by the committee of council *, how ſubordinate is ſuch a conſideration, when placed in competition with the future growth and profitable exiſtence of our ſugar iſlands, the whole of whoſe acquirements center in the boſom of the mother country, enriching her manufactures, encouraging her fiſheries, upholding the credit of her funds, ſupporting the value of her lands, and augmenting, through a thouſand channels, her commerce, navigation, revenues, ſtrength, wealth, and proſperity!

On the whole, it is a conſideration of very ſerious importance, that the benefits of the preſent reſtraining ſyſtem are by no means commenſurate to the riſk which is incurred from it. Jamaica, it is true, in time of ſcarcity, may find ſome reſource within herſelf, and America has not yet adopted, and perhaps may not adopt, meaſures of retaliation; but it muſt always be remembered, that every one of the Weſt Indian iſlands is occaſionally ſubject to hurricanes, and many of them to exceſſive droughts, which, by deſtroying all the products of the earth, leave the wretched negroes no dependance but on imported proviſions ſupplied them by their owners. Antigua has been frequently rendered by this calamity a ſcene of deſolation, as it was particularly in 1770, and twice again in the years 1773 and 1778. Should the ſame irreſiſtible viſitation overtake theſe unfortunate countries hereafter,—as the planters have no veſſels of their own, and thoſe of America are denied admittance into their ports,—how are even the moſt opulent among them to avert

* £.245,000 ſterling.

from

from their unhappy labourers the miſeries of famine, which in a like caſe ſwept off ſuch numbers in Jamaica? Concerning the permiſſion that is held out to the planters to reſort, in time of emergency, to the foreign iſlands, it is ſo manifeſtly nugatory, that I chooſe not to ſpeak of it in the language which my feelings would dictate *.

Compared with the danger thus impending over the feeble and defenceleſs Africans, the inconveniency which of late has been felt and com-

* Under the preſent limited intercourſe with America (excluſive of the uncertainty of being ſupplied at all) the Weſt Indians are ſubject to three ſets of devouring monopoliſts. 1ſt. The Britiſh ſhip-owners. 2d. Their agents at the ports in America. 3d. Their agents or factors at the chief ports in the iſlands, all of whom exact an unnatural profit from the planter; by which means thoſe moſt eſſential neceſſaries, ſtaves and lumber, have riſen in price no leſs than 37 per cent. as the following comparative table will demonſtrate:

Prices of ſtaves, lumber, &c. at Kingſton, Jamaica, during two periods; the firſt from 1772 *to* 1775 *(both years incluſive) the ſecond from* 1788 *to* 1791.

		1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.
		£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves	*per* M.	8 —	8 —	8 10	9 —
White Oak Staves	*per* M.	9 10	9 10	10 —	11 —
Pitch-pine Lumber	*per* M.	8 —	9 —	9 10	10 —
Common Lumber	*per* M.	6 10	7 10	8 10	9 10
22 Inch Shingles	*per* M.	2 —	2 5	2 10	0 10

		1788.	1789.	1790.	1791.
		£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves	*per* M.	14 10	14 —	10 10	12 —
White Oak Staves	*per* M.	15 —	15 —	11 —	12 —
Pitch-pine Lumber	*per* M.	14 —	12 5	11 10	12 —
Common Lumber	*per* M.	13 —	10 —	9 10	10 —
22 Inch Shingles	*per* M.	3 —	3 —	2 15	2 15

BOOK VI. plained of in Great Britain, from the high price of Weſt Indian commodities, deſerves not the conſideration of a moment. It is the neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence of our own arrangements. Yet, perhaps, it is this circumſtance alone that comes home to our feelings; and to this cauſe, more than to any other, I verily believe, may be attributed the clamour which has been induſtriouſly excited againſt the planters, concerning their ſuppoſed ill uſage of their negroes. Diſcontent at the high price of ſugar, is called ſympathy for the wretched, and the murmurs of avarice become the dictates of humanity. What inconſiſtency can be more groſs and lamentable! We accuſe the planter of cruelty to his ſlaves, and contemplate at the ſame time, with approbation or indifference, our own commercial policy, under which many thouſands of thoſe unhappy people have already periſhed, and to which (I grieve to add) many thouſands more will probably fall a ſacrifice!

☞ THE following Memorial from the Agent of Jamaica, to his Majeſty's Miniſters, preſented during the inveſtigation of the ſubject to which it relates, may ſerve to illuſtrate and explain what is obſcure and deficient in ſome parts of the preceding diſcuſſion. It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve, after what has been related, that no anſwer was given.

The Repreſentation of STEPHEN FULLER, Eſquire, Agent for Jamaica, to his Majeſty's Miniſters.

THE agent of Jamaica, by the advice and approbation of the Right Honourable Lord Penryhn, Edward Long, and Bryan Edwards, Eſquires, with whom he is directed, by the council and aſſembly, to conſult, begs leave

leave to ſubmit to the conſideration of his Majeſty's Miniſters, the following obſervations and propoſitions, on the ſubject of ſuch part of the memorial and petition of the council and aſſembly to his Majeſty, of the eleventh of December laſt, as relates to a limited intercourſe between the Britiſh Weſt Indies, and the United States of America, in American bottoms.

The ſaid agent conceives that it is no longer a queſtion, whether the neceſſities of the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands can be ſupplied by any other channel than that of the United States; the invincible law of abſolute neceſſity (paramount to all other conſiderations) having lately induced the lieutenant governor and council of Jamaica to open the ports of that iſland to all American veſſels, of all deſcriptions, by proclamation. The ſaid memorialiſts have ſtated, that this meaſure was dictated, "ſolely by "motives of ſelf preſervation;" for they ſolemnly affirm, "that nothing but a reaſonable participation in a "trade with the United States, can, on many probable "contingencies in future, prevent them from ruin and "death."

It is preſumed to be a fact, equally well eſtabliſhed, that the neceſſities of the ſaid iſlands cannot be ſupplied, in any degree adequate to their wants, even from the United States, unleſs in veſſels actually belonging to the ſaid States. The Weſt Indian iſlands have few or no ſhips of their own; and were it even true, which the ſaid agent by no means allows, that Britiſh veſſels from hence might, by circuitous voyages, profitably tranſport lumber and proviſions from the United States to the ſaid iſlands, and ſo return to Great Britain with freights of ſugar; yet the planters would be wholly unable to pay for lumber and proviſions thus obtained; not only from the augmented coſt thereof, but alſo, inaſmuch as their rum, their chief reſource for the purchaſe of neceſſaries, to the amount of upwards of half a million ſterling, would ſtill remain a dead weight on their hands: the conſumption of rum in this kingdom, in the year 1783, not exceeding 505,150 gallons; although the quantity annually made in the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, for exportation, exceeds 7,700,000 gallons.

The agent, deſirous of obviating all material objections, humbly offers to your conſideration, the plan of a future

BOOK VI.

future intercourſe between the ſaid iſlands and the United States, of ſo ſtrict and limited a nature, as, he preſumes, will not be controverted, even by thoſe who have hitherto appeared moſt zealous for confining the trade of the Weſt India iſlands to Great Britain and Ireland only.

Firſt, The ſaid agent humbly offers to your conſideration, whether the intercourſe requeſted by the Weſt Indian planters, in American veſſels, may not be confined to ſloops and ſchooners only, having but one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of ſixty tons. And, to obviate all ſuſpicions of fraudulent meaſurement, whether the number of mariners in each veſſel may not be limited to three white ſeamen, and as many negroes, or people of colour, ſo as not to exceed ſix in the whole?

Secondly, Whereas, among the commoditics formerly allowed to be imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, the following were articles of conſiderable importance, viz. Bar iron—wax and ſpermaceti candles—train oil—hams—tongues—herrings—butter—cheeſe—ſoap—ſtarch—tallow—ſalted beef and pork; of the latter, viz. ſalted beef and pork, the import into all the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, from the ſaid ſtates, in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, was 44,782 barrels, worth, at the ports of delivery, upwards of £.110,000 ſterling money: it is ſubmitted, that the planters in future, be reſtricted to the ſupplying themſelves with all theſe articles of indiſpenſible neceſſity from Great Britain and Ireland only; truſting nevertheleſs, that in adjuſting the commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, proviſion will be made, by the parliament of Ireland, for a reciprocal ſecurity to the Weſt Indian planter, againſt the introduction of foreign Weſt Indian produce into that kingdom, and againſt any augmentation of taxes upon the export of ſalt proviſions from thence to the Britiſh Weſt Indies.

Thirdly, As it has been urged, that granting permiſſion to the ſubjects of the United States, to export raw ſugars from the Britiſh Weſt Indian iſlands, may interfere with the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland; whether this permiſſion may not be reſtricted, in future, to clayed and refined ſugars only?

Fourthly, As to hides and ſkins, cotton wool, indigo, logwood, fuſtic, and other dyers woods; whether the export

export thereof, to the United States, from the Britiſh plantations, ſhould not be prohibited altogether? CHAP. IV.

Fifthly, In order that all reaſonable encouragement may be ſhewn to the Britiſh ſettlers in our remaining provinces of North America; and to demonſtrate, that the ſugar planters are ſincerely diſpoſed to give them the preference of their cuſtom, whenever, by the increaſe of people, or the progreſs of cultivation, they ſhall be actually enabled to ſupply our wants, in part or in total; whether the meaſures now ſubmitted to the conſideration of his Majeſty's Miniſters, if adopted by parliament, may not be in force for a probationary period only, to commence the firſt day of July next?

By means of a ſyſtem of this kind, the imports from the United States, into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, will be confined in future to working cattle, lumber, and proviſions only; and of the latter, to ſuch ſpecies alone, as it is on all hands admitted that Great Britain, Ireland, and our remaining provinces, cannot immediately furniſh, in a quantity by any means adequate to the demand.—The American navigation ſufficient for this purpoſe, muſt, by the excluſion of ſo many articles, neceſſarily be in proportion diminiſhed. It appears by the report of the Right Honourable the Committee of Council, that the number of veſſels, both American and Britiſh, formerly employed in a direct intercourſe between the Weſt Indian iſlands and North America, never exceed 533, and the ſeamen employed therein 3,339; of which 1,000 at leaſt, it is conceived, were negro ſlaves, or people of colour. On the plan now propoſed, it is probable, conſidering the conſequent diminution of the number of veſſels, that the whole number of white ſeamen ſo employed in future, would not exceed twelve hundred. And what policy can be more dreadful, than that, which, in order to diſtreſs ſo inſignificant a handful of people, ſhould put the whole of the ſugar iſlands, containing 500,000 inhabitants, to the riſque of deſtruction?

It is not for the agent to ſuppoſe, that it can ever be deemed expedient, rather to connive at a clandeſtine, than authorize an open intercourſe; but he will be allowed to expreſs his moſt ſerious apprehenſions of the miſchiefs which ſeems to threaten his conſtituents. The French government, as he is informed, having lately eſtabliſhed

BOOK VI.

eſtabliſhed no leſs than ſeven free ports in their iſlands, for the admiſſion, in foreign veſſels, of lumber and live ſtock of every ſpecies, ſalted beef, and fiſh, he fears, that if the Britiſh planters cannot obtain their neceſſaries, in any thing like a ſufficient quantity, by a licenſed mode of intercourſe in Britiſh veſſels, they muſt procure them by illicit means, or diſcontinue the cultivation of their lands. And that, as the vicinity of the French iſlands promiſes to facilitate a clandeſtine introduction of ſupplies, they will probably obtain them from the United States, for the moſt part, through the medium of the French iſlands, and in French bottoms. In this event, the French free ports may become the great emporiums for theſe articles, and gain a profit upon their cuſtomers, in proportion to the magnitude of the riſque, and the demand; French ſeamen may be employed (more formidable of the two than American); the Britiſh planters become dependants on their rivals; the plantations, the commerce, and the marine of France, may derive from this fatal cauſe a rapid improvement and grandeur; whilſt the Britiſh intereſts, in that part of the empire, are ſinking with equal rapidity into annihilation.

STEPHEN FULLER.

March 8, 1785.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Charges brought againſt the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Deſign of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the Britiſh Plantations was improvident and unwiſe.—Teſtimony of the Inſpector General on this Subject, and Animadverſions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a diſtinct Intereſt between Great Britain and her Sugar Iſlands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals ariſing from thoſe Iſlands conſidered ſeparately.—Opinions of Poſtlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on Weſt Indian Commodities imported fall on the Conſumer, and in what Caſes?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of thoſe Terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonſtrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Reſtrictions on the Coloniſts enumerated; and the Benefits reſulting therefrom to the Mother Country pointed out and illuſtrated.—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the Weſt Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the Britiſh Conſumption.—Unjuſt Clamours raiſed in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the Weſt Indian Staples.—Project of eſtabliſhing Sugar Plantations in the Eaſt Indies under the Protection of Government conſidered.—Remonſtrance which might be offered againſt this and other Meaſures.—Concluſion.

AFTER ſo copious a diſplay as hath been given of the prodigiouſly increaſed value of theſe important iſlands, during the ſpace of a century and CHAP. V.

BOOK VI. and a half, which have nearly elapſed ſince their firſt ſettlement, it may be ſuppoſed that the conduct of Great Britain towards them (notwithſtanding the proceedings on which I have preſumed to animadvert in the foregoing chapter) has generally been founded in kindneſs and liberality; and that the murmurs and complaints which have ſometimes proceeded from the planters, when new and heavy duties have been laid on their ſtaples, have been equally ungrateful and unjuſt; the faſtidious peeviſhneſs of opulent folly, and ſurfeited proſperity.

Charges to this effect have indeed been frequently urged againſt the planters of the Weſt Indies, with a ſpirit of bitterneſs and rancour, which inclines one to think, that a ſmall degree of envy (excited, perhaps, by the ſplendid appearance of a few opulent individuals among them reſident in Great Britain) is blended in the accuſation. They would therefore have remained unnoticed by me, were they not, on frequent occaſions, introductory of doctrines and opinions as extraordinary in their nature, as dangerous in their tendency; for, ſupported as they are by perſons of ability and influence, they cannot fail, if adopted by miniſters, and carried from the national councils into meaſures, to widen our recent wounds, and make a general maſſacre of our whole ſyſtem of colonization.

Of theſe doctrines and opinions, ſo far as they concern the Britiſh plantations in the Weſt Indies, the following is a fair abſtract and abridgment:

Firſt, That the ſugar iſlands have been ſettled by Britiſh capitals which might have been employed to greater advantage at home, in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain.

Secondly,

Secondly, That the money expended upon Weſt Indian eſtates, is in general far from yielding a profitable return to the nation, inaſmuch as even a good crop does not leave the owner ſo much as ſix per cent. on his capital, after payment of expences.

Thirdly, That the duties on Weſt Indian commodities fall altogether on the conſumer.

Fourthly, That the ſeveral prohibitory laws which have been made, tending to force the conſumption of Britiſh Weſt Indian produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, have veſted in the planters a complete monopoly of the Britiſh market, at the coſt, and to the manifeſt injury, of the Britiſh conſumer, who might otherwiſe purchaſe ſugars, &c. from the foreign iſlands, 20 or 30 per cent. cheaper than in thoſe of Great Britain.

Fifthly, That from this great diſparity of price between Britiſh and foreign ſugars, the former cannot be made an object of export from Great Britain, by any other means than by granting drawbacks and bounties out of the Exchequer; the Britiſh exporter being otherwiſe unable to ſtand the competition of prices in the foreign market:—a policy, which is pronounced to be dangerous and deſtructive.

The inference which is drawn from theſe premiſes is plainly this; that, conſidering the expence of protecting them in war, the ſettlement of ſugar plantations in the Weſt Indies was improvident and unwiſe; and that their further extenſion and improvement would not promote the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

It is probable that theſe, and ſimilar notions of the ſame tendency, but of more extenſive application, were originally diſſeminated with no other view,

BOOK VI.

view, than, by depreciating the value and importance of all colonial ſettlements, to reconcile the nation to thoſe raſh and inconſiderate proceedings, which terminated in the loſs of America. They have had their day; and, like other ſpeculations and endeavours as vain and ineffectual, might have been conſigned, without injury, to oblivion. It is therefore with a conſiderable degree of ſurpriſe, that in the courſe of a late inveſtigation by a committee of the houſe of commons, I perceive an attempt has been made to revive and eſtabliſh moſt of them, by a perſon, whoſe public ſituation, as inſpector general of the exports and imports of Great Britain, may be ſuppoſed to give great weight to his opinions *. Of the value of this office, as affording an inexhauſtible ſource of important and accurate information in the various branches of the Britiſh commerce, I have ſpoken, I hope, with due reſpect, in former parts of this work; but in mere ſpeculative points, not clearly founded on matters of fact, the opinions of the officer himſelf, whoever he may be, carry no further degree of authority than in proportion to the weight of reaſoning which accompanies them. Of this nature are the ſeveral theorems before ſtated. They are matters of opinion only; in ſome reſpects incapable of proof (as the firſt propoſition for inſtance) and in others, where proof is attempted, they generate concluſions widely different from thoſe which are drawn from the facts adduced in their ſupport. As, however, the manifeſt aim of ſuch doctrines is to

* See the evidence of Thomas Irving, Eſquire, before a ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, appointed to examine witneſſes on the ſlave trade, reported 7th April, 1791, from whence I have extracted moſt of the doctrines animadverted upon in the text, and chiefly in his own words.

induce

induce the legiſlature to adopt meaſures that in their conſequences may check and impede the further progreſs of the coloniſts in a line of cultivation, in which, under the expreſs encouragement of government, they have already embarked their fortunes, and applied their faculties, it becomes neceſſary, in a work of this kind, to conſider them with ſome degree of attention. CHAP. V.

It might indeed be alledged, and with great truth, that nothing can more clearly expoſe the nakedneſs of that doctrine which affects to conſider the ſugar iſlands as unprofitable to the nation, than a plain and ſimple diſplay of the productions which they furniſh, the market which they create for our manufactures, and the ſhipping to which they give employment. And ſuch a diſplay hath already been exhibited in the preceding chapters: but, unfortunately, there prevail many popular prejudices againſt the colonies, which are difficult to remove, becauſe they are founded not in reaſon but ſelfiſhneſs. Opinions thus entrenched, are only to be encountered by recalling to the public attention, ſuch eſtabliſhed principles and facts as, being built on experience, neither ſophiſtry can perplex, nor ſelf-intereſt elude.

In moſt of the late ſpeculative ſyſtems that I have ſeen, which have treated of the Britiſh colonies, there appears this great and fundamental error, that their intereſts in general are conſidered as diſtinct from, and in ſome reſpects oppoſed to, the general intereſts of the empire. We ſpeak of them indeed as *our* colonies, and of their inhabitants as *our* ſubjects; but in our dealings, we are apt to regard them with a ſpirit of rivalry or jealouſy, as an unconnected or hoſtile people, whoſe

BOOK VI. whoſe proſperity is our detriment, and whoſe gain is our loſs.

Intimations to this effect were, I admit, promulgated by very able writers at an early period, concerning New England, and ſome other of the colonies in North America; but none of thoſe writers ever conſidered the plantations in the Weſt Indies in the ſame point of view. This neceſſary diſtinction, between colonies in northern and ſouthern latitudes, ſeems however to have eſcaped the recollection of the inſpector general; for although he admits that the money which is veſted in the ſugar iſlands, is in fact Britiſh property, yet he forgets that the profits and returns ariſing from it, center in Great Britain, and no where elſe. Generally ſpeaking, the ſugar planters are but ſo many agents or ſtewards for their creditors and annuitants in the mother country; or if, in ſome few inſtances, they are independent proprietors themſelves, it is in Great Britain alone that their incomes are expended, and their fortunes ultimately veſted. The produce of the ſugar iſlands therefore, ought, in all reaſon, to be conſidered as ſtanding preciſely on the ſame footing with the produce of the mother country. The ſugar made in them is raiſed by Britiſh ſubjects, and the ſale of it (as far as it can anſwer any profitable purpoſe to Great Britain) confined to the Britiſh market. In the actual conſumption of the commodity within the kingdom, the money which it coſts is only tranſferred from the hand of one inhabitant into that of another: hence, be the price high or low, the nation at large is not one ſhilling the richer nor the poorer on that account. But, of whatever is conſumed at home, the value is ſaved, and of whatever is exported abroad, and paid

paid for by foreigners, the amount is ſo much clear gain to the kingdom *. CHAP. V.

Neither ought the national profits ariſing from their cultivation, to be eſtimated, in any degree, by the profits which are made by the ſeveral individual cultivators. The income which the nation derives from her ſugar plantations, comprehends the *whole* of their produce. The income of the cultivators conſiſts only of the very ſmall proportion of that produce which is left to them, after paying duties to government, freights and commiſſions to the Britiſh merchants, and the intereſt of their debts to Britiſh creditors. It is indeed very poſſible that a concern may be lucrative to the public, which is ruinous to the individual. That the nation has been benefited in ten thouſand ways from her plantations in the Weſt Indies, no man of common ſenſe or common candour ever denied, until the motives that I have already aſſigned, gave birth to a contrary pretence; and that many individual proprietors have, at the ſame time, ſuffered conſiderably by adventuring therein, I am afraid it is too notorious to diſpute.

But the argument that comes more immediately home to the bulk of the community, is

* It is the practice with ſome writers, in treating of foreign commerce, to conſider every branch of it as unfavourable to the nation, in which the imports are of greater value than the exports; that is, they ſtrike a balance on the Cuſtom-houſe entries, and conſider the exceſs either way, as the meaſure of the national advantages, or diſadvantages, of ſuch a trade. Perhaps the application of this rule to moſt branches of foreign commerce (rightly ſo called) is not improper; and it will extend, I am afraid, in a great degree, to our trade with the Eaſt Indies; but from what has been ſaid in the text, the reader will perceive the groſs abſurdity of bringing our intercourſe with the Weſt Indies to the ſame ſtandard; and that our *import from*, and not *export to* them, is to be conſidered as the meaſure of their value.

the

BOOK VI. the very prevalent idea which I have before ſlightly noticed, that all the products of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, and more eſpecially the great article of ſugar, are from twenty to thirty *per cent.* dearer than thoſe of the foreign plantations. Againſt this circumſtance (if it were well founded) it might ſeem ſufficient to oppoſe the national benefit ariſing generally from the whole ſyſtem; but the conſumer, mindful of himſelf only, conceives that he ought to have permiſſion to purchaſe ſugar at the cheapeſt rate, wherever he can procure it. The refiner, whoſe aim it is to buy cheap and ſell dear, claims the ſame privilege; to which indeed there would be leſs objection, if he would conſent that another part of his fellow ſubjects, the growers of the commodity, ſhould enjoy the ſame freedom from commercial reſtraint which he requires for himſelf. Unluckily however, the main fact is altogether deſtitute of foundation. The exiſtence of ſuch diſparity of price, independent of accidental and temporary fluctuations, is neither true nor poſſible, as is demonſtrated by the magnitude of the Britiſh export, both of raw and refined ſugar, for the ſupply of foreign markets; it requiring no great effort to prove, that foreigners would not reſort to our market for the purchaſe of a commodity, which they might buy cheaper at home *. There was a time

* Reſpecting the French ſugar iſlands, I can ſpeak of my own knowledge. Moſt of their largeſt planters having adopted the practice of *claying*, they pay leſs attention to the manufacture of good *muſcovado* than is given to it in our iſlands. This latter therefore, being generally of inferior quality, may be ſold proportionably cheaper than ours; but whenever it is of equal goodneſs, the price alſo is equal, and ſometimes higher. Of twelve ſamples of muſcavado ſugar produced to me in Saint Domingo, as of the beſt quality of *ſucre brût* made in

time certainly, when England was herſelf compelled to purchaſe of foreign nations, and at their own prices, many articles of prime neceſſity, for a ſupply of which, thoſe very nations now reſort to the Britiſh market. " Before the ſettlement of our colonies (ſays Poſtlethwaite) our manufactures were few, and thoſe but indifferent. In thoſe days, we had not only our naval ſtores, but our ſhips, from our neighbours. Germany furniſhed us with all things made of metal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thouſand other things, came from France. Portugal ſupplied us with ſugar. All the products of America were poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoeſe retailed to us the commodities of the Eaſt

CHAP. V.

in that iſland, I could not honeſtly pronounce that any one was well manufactured; and I am perſuaded I could have purchaſed better ſugars in Jamaica at a leſs price than was aſked for thoſe. This was in 1791, ſoon after the revolt of the ſlaves, when it might have been ſuppoſed that the diſtreſſes of the French planters would have compelled them to ſell their ſugars more reaſonably than they had done for ſeveral years before. In fact, the only *datum* for aſcertaining the relative value of foreign and Britiſh ſugar, is the price of each *at the colonial market*; inſtead of which, the price always referred to, is the *price in Europe*, after the charges of freight, duty, &c. are added to the original coſt. The not attending to this neceſſary diſtinction, has probably given riſe to the very erroneous idea above noticed, which has occaſioned more ill-will and groundleſs complaint againſt the Britiſh ſugar planter, than any other circumſtance. While I am on this ſubject it may not be improper to take ſome notice of the diſparity between the profits obtained on their ſugar by the Britiſh and French planters in Great Britain and France. In a French publication of character, * the author ſtates the whole year's import into France on an average at

130,000 caſks, valued at 90 million of livres, equal to — — £. 3,937,500 ſterl.

* Reflections d'un Vieillard, &c. 1785.

BOOK VI. East Indies, *at their own price.*" The same account is confirmed by Sir Josiah Child. "Portuguese sugar (says this author) before we had plantations

Against this value he sets the duties and impost, *viz.*

	Livres.	£.
Duties of the western domain	5,600,000	£. 245,000
Ditto in the West Indies	7,344,000	321,300
		566,300
Ditto on 50,000 casks consumed or refined in France	4,592,000	200,900
Total of imposts and duties, including the charges of Government, civil and military, in the islands	—	767,200

	£.	s.	d.	
According to this statement, these sugars are valued, per cask, at	30	5	9¼	
And the duties thereon estimated at —	5	8	0	
Leaves, clear of duties,	24	17	9¼	sterling money.

Let us now look to British sugars.

I suppose 14 cwt. a good average weight per cask at sale, and that 2l. 5s. per cwt. was a high medium of price in Great Britain (duty, &c. included) for several years previous to the revolt of the slaves in St. Domingo:

I compute the public charges, civil and military, paid in our Islands by grant of assembly, at not less than 200,000l. *per annum:*

And that this rests as a charge upon their sugars of about two shillings *per cwt.*

The amount of these colonial imposts upon a cask of 14 cwt. will therefore be - -	£.	1	8 0
The British duties which were formerly paid on importation were 12s. 3½d. *per cwt.*		8	12 0
In all, per Cask	£.	10	0 0

Then,

tations of our own, ſold for ſeven and eight pounds ſterling the quintal or cwt.;" and it is a remarkable and well known circumſtance, after that the cultivation of indigo in Jamaica, was ſuppreſſed by an exorbitant duty of near £.20 the hundred weight, Great Britain was compelled to pay to her rivals and enemies, £.200,000 annually for this commodity, ſo eſſential to a great variety of her moſt important manufactures. At length, the duty being repealed, and a bounty, ſometime after, ſubſtituted in its place, the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina entered upon, and ſucceeding in the culture of this valuable plant, ſupplied, at a far cheaper rate than the French and Spaniards (receiving too our manufactures in payment), not only the Britiſh conſumption, but alſo enabled Great Britain to export a ſurplus at an advanced price to foreign markets. CHAP. V.

Then, ſuppoſing the groſs value of one caſk of 14 per cwt. at 45s. *per cwt.* to be - - - -	£.	31	10 0
Deduct public impoſts and duties -		10	0 0
Leaves —	£.	21	10 0

N. B. 5l. 8s. (the French duties) is rather leſs than 18 *per cent.* on the value, and 10l. the impoſts and duties paid by the Britiſh planters, is 31¼ *per cent.*

From the preceding calculation it appears, that out of 100l. value of the French planter's ſugar, there is left him, after payment of duties to his government abroad and at home, 82l. —But to the Britiſh planter, out of his ſugar, no more than 68l. 5s.—and although the groſs apparent value of the Britiſh planter's hogſhead of ſugar is higher than that of the French planter's by 1l. 4s. 3d. yet he receives, after paying the taxes upon it, leſs than the other by 3l. 7s. 9d.—This ſuperior advantage enables the French planters to pay a higher price for negroes, and to carry on their plantations at a greater expence than the Engliſh—circumſtances which probably make the ſcale between the planters of the two nations nearly even.

BOOK VI.

If theſe writers then were well informed, and the commercial world has thought highly of their induſtry and knowledge, it would be difficult to prove (though it is eaſily ſaid) that the ſettlement of the Britiſh ſugar plantations was unwiſe or improvident; nor will it be found very eaſy to point out any other channel in which the money which has been expended in their improvement, could have been applied to greater national benefit.—Againſt advantages of ſuch magnitude and permanence as I have ſhewn to reſult from thoſe colonies, and the various branches of our commerce dependent thereon, neither the loſs to individuals in the plantations, by improvident ſchemes in the outſet, or improper conduct in their ſubſequent purſuits, nor the temporary inconvenience which is ſometimes ſuſtained by the purchaſers and conſumers at home, from an occaſional advance of price in ſome few of the colonial products, outweighs in the ſcale of reaſon a feather!

It is evident therefore, that the inſpector general, in the teſtimony which he gave to the Houſe of Commons, had not inveſtigated the ſubject with his uſual accuracy and diſcernment. In the firſt place, he appears not to have ſufficiently adverted to the nature of Weſt Indian property as Britiſh capital, and the application and diſpoſal of its profits as augmenting the national ſtock; and in the ſecond, he has evidently regarded as one and the ſame, two objects, which have ſeldom any affinity, and are ſometimes extremely different in their nature, namely, the national gains ariſing from the whole ſyſtem, and the profits of individuals in the narrow walk of colonial agriculture. I ſhall now proceed to conſider thoſe poſitions and doctrines which have been advanced concerning the duties that are paid, and the drawbacks that are

are granted on the products of the British sugar islands, and shall afterwards treat somewhat largely of the monopoly compact, or the privilege which the planters of those islands possess, of supplying exclusively the British consumption of sugar, and other articles. The subject is naturally dry, and not susceptible of ornament; but its importance will not be disputed, and perhaps there are but few commercial regulations whose principles are less understood than those of the compact last mentioned.

The points to be considered are briefly comprised in the following objections:—It is asserted,

First, That the duties which are levied on the products of the British West Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the first instance by the proprietor or importer, ultimately fall on the consumer, and on him alone *.

Secondly,

* The following are correct tables of the duties payable at this time (1792) on the principal articles of West Indian produce, both in Great Britain and the United States of America;

DUTIES *payable upon* IMPORTATION *into* GREAT BRITAIN of the produce of the *British West Indies, agreeable to the Consolidated Act, most of which are drawn back upon Exportation.*

	£.	s.	d.
Refined sugar, cwt. - -	4	18	8
Musc. sugar, - - -	0	15	0
Rum, per gallon, customs 5*d.* excise 4*s.* 3*d.* - - - -	0	4	8
Piemento, per lb. - - -	0	0	3
Indigo, mahogany, Nicaragua wood, logwood, lignumvitæ, and fustic, *free*			
* Coffee, per cwt. - -	0	3	6

* *If the Coffee is for home consumption, it pays a further duty of £.3. 15s. per cwt. to the customs, and 6½d. per lb. to the excise.—Cocoa also, if for home consumption, pays 12s. 6d. per cwt,—excise 6½d. per lb.*

Cocoa,

BOOK VI. Secondly, That the practice of allowing drawbacks on their re-export, is dangerous and deſtructive.

Thirdly,

	£.	s.	d.
Cocoa, ditto - - -	0	1	3
Ginger, black or white, per cwt.	0	11	0
Cotton, from any place in Britiſh bottoms, *free.*			
Gum Guaiacum, - - -	0	0	9
Jalap - - - - -	0	0	9
Aloes, per cwt. - - -	6	10	8
Sarſaparilla, per lb. - -	0	0	8
Tamarinds, red, cwt. - -	1	0	6

Impoſt of the UNITED STATES upon WEST INDIAN PRODUCE.

	Cents
Diſtilled ſpirits if more than ten per cent. below proof, per gallon - -	20
If more than five, and not more than ten per cent. below - - - - -	21
If of proof, and not more than five per cent. below - - - - -	22
If above proof, but not exceeding twenty per cent. - - - - - -	25
If of more than twenty, and not more than forty per cent. above proof - -	30
If of more than forty per cent. above proof	40
Brown ſugar - - - - - -	1½
Melaſſes - - - - - -	3
Coffee, per pound - - - -	4
Cocoa - - - - - - -	1
Pimento - - - - - - -	4
Indigo - - - - - - -	25
Cotton - - - - - - -	3
Tonnage on foreign veſſels per ton -	50

N. B. *One hundred Cents is equal to a Spaniſh Dollar.*

Not leſs than 50 Gals. to be imported into the United States.

*** An addition of ten *per centum* to be made to the ſeveral rates of duties before ſpecified and impoſed, excepting rum, which ſhall be imported in ſhips or veſſels not of the United States.

☞ Brown

Thirdly, That the monopoly of ſupply veſted in the planters is partial, oppreſſive, and unjuſt. CHAP. V.

I ſhall conſider theſe ſeveral poſitions in the order in which I have placed them. The inveſtigation of them is neceſſary to the completion of my work, and, with a few general obſervations, will conclude my labours.

If daily experience did not evince that argument has very little effect on the avarice of government, and the ſelfiſh prejudices of individuals, it might be a matter of wonder that the firſt of theſe poſitions (in the full extent to which it is carried) ſhould ever be ſeriouſly repeated, after the clear and unanſwerable refutation which has been given to it, both in parliament and from the preſs, a thouſand times; and what is more, by ſad experience in a thouſand inſtances! So long, however, as it continues to be the language of prejudiced or intereſted men, it is the duty of the planters to give it attention; and although they may have nothing new to offer on a queſtion which has been ſo frequently and fully inveſtigated, they have no reaſon on that account to be ſilent; inaſmuch as the doctrine itſelf has not, unfortunately, the grace of novelty to recommend it.

The planters then have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematics more inconteſtible than this maxim in commerce, *that the value of all commodities at market, depends entirely on their plenty or ſcarcity, in proportion to*

☞ Brown or Muſcovado ſugar, *not* of the Britiſh plantations, is ſubject, on its importation into Great Britain, to a duty of £.1 7*s*. 2*d*. and white or clayed ſugar of foreign growth to £.2 5*s*. 6*d*. the cwt.; Eaſt Indian ſugar being ranked among the company's imports as manufactured goods, pays £.37 16*s*. 3*d*. per cent. *ad valorem*. It is all white or clayed ſugar.

the

BOOK VI.

the demand or conſumption.—If the quantity at market is not equal to the demand, the ſeller undoubtedly can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods. On the other hand, when the quantity at market generally exceeds the vent or demand, then it is abſolutely out of the ſeller's power to influence the price, for the plenty will neceſſarily keep it down in ſpite of his utmoſt endeavours to raiſe it.

The truth therefore undoubtedly is, that in the latter caſe the original coſt of the goods, and all ſubſequent charges thereon, ſuch as freight, warehouſe rent, duties and taxes of all kinds, are objects of no concern to the buyer. The quantity, and the quantity alone, regulates the price at market, and augments or diminiſhes the profits of the ſeller. If the demand be great, and the quantity ſmall, the ſeller has ſometimes an opportunity not only of reimburſing himſelf the original coſt, and all ſubſequent charges and duties, but likewiſe of making great profit beſides. Reverſe the circumſtances, and he finds himſelf a conſiderable loſer. All this is the neceſſary and unavoidable nature of commercial adventure, which is only proſperous as it contrives *to feed the market* properly; or, in other words, to make the ſupply no more than adequate to the demand: Thus the taxes on leather, ſoap, candles, malt, beer, and ſpirits, by inhancing the price to, may be ſaid to fall on, the conſumers; for as the manufacturers have it in their power, ſo they proportion the ſupply to the demand, and bring to market no more than ſufficient to anſwer the conſumption, and if, after all, they cannot obtain a living profit, they ceaſe to deal in thoſe commodities.

It is the ſame in regard to tea, wines, and other commodities, the growth or manufacture of foreign

reign nations, *over whoſe exports we have no controul.* The merchant importer governs his imports by the demand which he computes there will be at the Britiſh market for the commodity; and ceaſes to import ſuch goods as he finds will not yield him a profit, after the duty and all other charges are reimburſed. CHAP. V.

But, in the caſe of articles which the ſituation or neceſſities of the owner bring to ſale, and for which no other vent can be found, it is impoſſible that any duties or taxes which the commodity may have paid in its way to market, can have any effect on the price; for the price ariſes from the demand, and the demand from the buyer's wants, which it would be abſurd to ſay the laying any duty can create, or the not laying it diminiſh.—Thus, when wheat is ſcarce, the price riſes; and two or three good harveſts make it cheap again, without any reference to the land-tax whether it be 3s. or 4s. and without any regard to the farmer's expences. Nor will corn afterwards bear a good price until the ſtock is leſſened by exportation or otherwiſe, to ſuch a quantity as is barely ſufficient for home conſumption. Hops, hay, cyder, and a thouſand other commodities, are ſubject to the ſame rule.

Such too is preciſely the ſituation of the Weſt Indian planters: they are compelled to ſend their goods to market, or ſtarve; and (with a few unprofitable exceptions) there is no market to which they are permitted to reſort but that of Great Britain. Their produce therefore when brought to ſale, can obtain no other than its natural price, I mean that price which a greater or leſs ſupply neceſſarily and naturally creates. The conſumers of ſugar neither care for, nor enquire after its original coſt, or the duties and charges which it has

BOOK VI. has paid in its way to market. The importer however muſt pay the duties before he can bring his ſugar to ſale, for no man will buy unleſs the duty is firſt cleared; and whether the importer can compel the buyer to refund the whole, or any part of it, by adding it to the price of the commodity, depends altogether, as I have obſerved, on the quantity at market; it being an abſolute contradiction to affirm that great plenty and a high price on the one hand, or on the other, great ſcarcity and a low price, can exiſt at one and the ſame time. That ſugar, like other commodities, is ſometimes bought up in Great Britain by engroſſers on ſpeculation, may be very poſſible; but this is a traffic in which as neither the planters in the Weſt Indies, nor their factors at home, have any concern, ſo neither are they anſwerable for any conſequences ariſing from it.

It is true that, when providential calamities have overtaken the Weſt Indies, the evil has ſometimes been remotely felt by the inhabitants of Great Britain. When it pleaſed the Almighty to lay waſte the ſugar iſlands by a ſucceſſion of tremendous hurricanes, it was reaſonable to expect that the reduced ſtate of their exports, would inhance their value in Europe. It might then perhaps be ſaid that the conſumer of ſugar reimburſed, in ſome degree, the charges and expences of its culture and tranſportation, and the duties which had been levied upon it. It was the natural and only relief (inadequate at the beſt) which the ſugar planters could receive; but if, from ſome occaſional increaſe of price on ſuch emergencies, they are made ſubject to permanent burthens, founded on the vain and fallacious idea that, becauſe the conſumer has replaced them once, he will replace them again; the devaſtations of the elements are only the leſſer evil.

Admitting

CHAP. V.

Admitting however that the conſumer really does, in a great many caſes, pay the duty, or, in other words, that the vender has it very frequently in his power to force his own price; who does not ſee, as an inevitable conſequence, that a decreaſe in the conſumption will ſoon bring the price back to its level? The products of the Weſt Indies are rather among the luxuries than the neceſſaries of life, and the great conſumption of ſugar eſpecially, is with the middle and lower claſſes of people, who can, and undoubtedly will, lay it aſide when reaſons of frugality require it. If any one doubts that this will be the effect, let him only enquire of any country grocer as to the fact, at a time when Muſcovado ſugar, in conſequence of the calamities that have been ſtated, and from captures in war, roſe ſuddenly one-fourth in value: He will find that the diminution in the conſumption in many parts of the kingdom, was in a much greater relative proportion;—a more fatal ſymptom cannot attend any branch of commerce.

If the arguments which have thus been ſtated are not ſufficient in themſelves to juſtify the remonſtrances which the planters of the Weſt Indies have thought it incumbent on them, from time to time, to urge againſt the increaſe of duties, there are facts to be adduced, which muſt convince the moſt ſelfiſh and incredulous.

The inſtance of indigo has been mentioned already; and it cannot be repeated too often.—The planters complained of the duties on that article, as they have ſince complained of thoſe on ſugar, and they were told then, as they are conſtantly told in other caſes, that the duties fell ultimately on the conſumer. Government however at length, by abrogating all the duties, ſaw, and

BOOK VI. and acknowledged its error; but the remedy was applied too late; for if the duties had either been taken off in time, or if the weight of them had fallen on the conſumer, inſtead of the planter, the cultivation of indigo, beyond all diſpute, had never been wreſted out of our hands.

Cacao, or chocolate, furniſhes another inſtance of the fatal effects of high duties on importation. Strange as it may ſeem that an article which our own colonies can raiſe in the greateſt plenty and perfection, ſhould be ſubject to a higher proportionate duty than the foreign commodity *tea* (the place of which chocolate or coffee might have ſupplied;) ſuch however was the caſe even when the duties on tea were nearly double what they are at preſent! The conſequence was, that whether the duties on cacao fell on the conſumer or the planter, the effect on the latter was preciſely the ſame; for if through want of a living profit, the planter could not afford to continue the cultivation; or if in exacting a living profit, he loſt his cuſtomers, becauſe they could no longer afford to purchaſe, his ſituation became equally diſtreſſing; until neceſſity compelled him to change his ſyſtem, and apply his land and labour to other objects. Thus the growth of cacao, which once conſtituted the pride of Jamaica, and its principal export, became checked and ſuppreſſed beyond the power of recovery. I think I have elſewhere obſerved, that there is not at this day a ſingle cacao plantation, of any extent, from one end of the iſland to the other.

The cultivation of ginger ſucceeded that of cacao, and met with a ſimilar fate: but perhaps the inſtance of coffee will come more immediately home to the imagination of miniſters, becauſe the proof which it affords, ariſes, not from what has been

been *loſt* by impolitic taxation, but from what has been *gained* by a prudent reduction of exiſting duties. In the one caſe, the leſſon it affords is too mortifying to be acceptable: the other they will receive as a compliment to their wiſdom. Having however ſtated the circumſtance in a former part of this work, it is unneceſſary to enlarge upon it here.

From the whole of what has been obſerved on the queſtion of duties, this concluſion appears to me to be incontrovertible; that in nine caſes out of ten, the duties which are paid on the products of the Britiſh plantations, fall chiefly (either immediately or eventually) on the coloniſt in the Weſt Indies, who is commonly the importer, and not on the conſumer in Great Britain;—and it is equally certain that, in the tenth caſe, when the conſumer pays them, *he ought to pay them*; inaſmuch as all taxes ſhould in juſtice preſs with equal weight on every member of the community, in proportion to his ability to ſuſtain them; of which, in the caſe of taxable commodities, conſumption is the criterion. To this conſideration, muſt be added the well known and eſtabliſhed axiom, that taxes paid by the public at large diſtribute themſelves ſo equally on the whole, as eventually to raiſe the price of all other commodities; each man repaying himſelf for taxes which he pays on other articles, by advancing the price of his own. Let the planters then no longer be contemptuouſly told (for ſuch has been the language of their adverſaries) that they have *groaned without a grievance.* I have ſhewn that they have been driven, from time to time, by duties accumulated on duties, from the cultivation of one production to another; and if (apprehenſive that the few valuable ſtaple commodities which now remain

BOOK VI.

remain to them are in danger of being ſacrificed, as others have been, to a ſyſtem of impolitic taxation) they ſtate their apprehenſions to miniſters, by a recital of plain facts, and a perſeverance in well grounded complaints, it ſeems to me they are equally ſerving government, and defending their own rights and properties.—Supplies muſt neceſſarily be raiſed; they admit it; but contend that there is a point at which taxation on any particular object muſt ſtop, or it will not only defeat its own purpoſe, but have the effect alſo of endangering all former duties laid on the ſame object, by totally deſtroying its cultivation or manufacture. The ſubject now naturally leads me to the conſideration of drawbacks and bounties, on the re-export of Britiſh plantation products, the ſecond head of our preſent enquiries; and as the principal of thoſe products is ſugar, I ſhall confine my remarks to that article.

The term Drawback, in the language of the Cuſtom-houſe, is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of *raw* ſugar, and the word Bounty to the money which is paid upon the exportation of what is *refined*, and exported in loaf unbroken. The word drawback ſufficiently expreſſes its meaning; for (excepting the gain to government by intereſt, in conſequence of having had a depoſit of the tax for ſome time in its hands, and excepting the duty retained on the quantity waſted while the ſugar continued in a Britiſh port) the original duty paid at importation, is refunded on exportation, without diminution or addition. This at preſent (including the laſt duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* laid in 1791, and declared to be temporary) is 15*s.* the hundred weight. But as to the *bounty*, the caſe was *once* different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government gave

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an actual premium on the export of refined ſugar in loaves, in addition to the drawback, and the collective ſums ſo refunded and paid, amounting together to 26*s.* the hundred weight, obtained generally the name of bounty; a name which is ſtill retained, although in fact, ſince the laſt duty was laid, the extra ſum which is paid beyond the drawback, is but little, if any thing, more than a compenſation for the duty which is paid on the *extra* quantity of raw ſugar expended in producing a given quantity of refined, and loſt by pilferage and waſte, between the importation and day of ſale, as will preſently be demonſtrated*.

Having

* The ſtatute book denominates that ſpecies of refined ſugar upon which what is called *the bounty* is granted, "*Sugar in the loaf and whole, being nett.*" Upon the export of this ſort of ſugar the bounty was raiſed by the 5th George III. c. 45. to 14*s.* 6*d.* and a further bounty of 11*s.* 6*d.* was granted by the 21 George III. c. 16. making together 26*s.* *per cwt.* and ſo it continues at preſent. The laſt bounty of 11*s.* 6*d.* was granted in conſequence of an additional duty of 6*s.* *per cwt.* laid in 1781, on raw ſugar imported, when Lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frankly declared that he propoſed the aforeſaid bounty purpoſely to remunerate the planters from the import duty, which he admitted they were unable to bear. It is evident, however, that the duty is permanent and certain; the relief, temporary and caſual; inaſmuch as the export of refined ſugar is altogether occaſional, depending on the fluctuating ſtate of foreign markets. Should the foreign demand fail, on whom will this additional duty fall but on the planter? This conſideration alone is a good reaſon why the bounty ſhould be more than proportionate to the drawback. Yet when parliament, in 1791, by 31 Geo. III. c. 15. laid a further duty of 2*s.* 8*d.* per cwt. on raw ſugar imported from the Britiſh plantations (appropriating the ſame, for the term of four years, towards the diſcharge of certain exchequer bills) making the import duty 15*s.* per cwt. in the whole, no addition was made to the bounty on the export of refined loaf. All that could be obtained was an addition of 3*s.* 4*d.* to the drawback, on what the ſtatute calls *baſtards, and ground or powdered ſugar;* and alſo on *refined loaf broke into pieces,* and

BOOK VI.

Having thus explained what is meant by the terms drawback and bounty, in the caſe of ſugar exported, I ſhall now endeavour to prove that the repayment of the duties, under either appellation, is not a matter of favour to the coloniſt or importer, but of rigorous juſtice, and is founded on a ſtrict and conſcientious right which he poſſeſſes, and of which he cannot be deprived, ſo long as a ſenſe of moral duty, and a regard to equal juſtice ſhall be found among the principles of a free government.

An importer of merchandize either comes *voluntarily* into our ports, to ſeek the beſt market for the ſale of his goods; or is *compelled* to enter them, that the nation may ſecure to itſelf the preemption at its own market. If he comes voluntarily, he is apprized of the regulations and duties

and all ſugar called *candy*. Upon the export of theſe ſpecies of ſugar, the drawback, previous to the 31 Geo. III. ſtood at 11*s*. 8*d*. only, while the duty paid on raw ſugar imported was 12*s*. 4*d*. and it being but juſt, that the drawback ſhould at leaſt be equal to the duty paid, 3*s*. 4*d*. was added in that act; which, with 11*s*. 8*d*. makes 15*s*. per cwt. the preciſe amount of the import duties paid ſince that act took place. The miniſter who moved the additional duty of 2*s*. 8*d*. in 1791, propoſed alſo at firſt to augment the bounty in the uſual proportion; but the ſugar refiners remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, as being, they ſaid, *beneficial only to the planters*. It is remarkable however that in the memorial which they preſented on that occaſion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, they furniſh an unanſwerable argument in ſupport of an actual *bonus* on the export from Great Britain of refined ſugar; for they admit that a greater proportion of the refined article is now made from Muſcovado than was formerly produced, *owing*, they ſay, *to improvements made by the planters in the raw commodity*. As thoſe improvements were not effected but after many coſtly, and ſome fruitleſs, experiments, it ſeems no way conſonant either to juſtice or reaſon that the refiners alone ſhould reap the advantages of them, and the planters, who ſuſtained the riſk, ſit down quietly under the expence.

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to which, by the laws of the port, he will be ſubject; he makes his option, and if he meets with diſappointment, has no right to complain; much leſs to expect a return of the duties which he has paid on importation, in caſe he ſhall afterwards find it more to his advantage to re-ſhip his goods, and try another market. He comes in the ſpirit of adventure, and as his profits, however great, are wholly his own, if his adventure proves fortunate; ſo it is but reaſonable that he ſhould ſubmit patiently to his loſs, if loſs is the conſequence of his experiment. This concluſion is, I think, too evident to require illuſtration. CHAP. V.

On the other hand, the caſe of thoſe who are *compelled* to bring their goods to our ports is widely different. The ſugar planter, for inſtance, is not only obliged to bring his ſugar at all times and ſeaſons to a market which perhaps is already overloaded; but to bring it too in Britiſh ſhips, that the mother country may have the benefit ariſing from the freight. On the ſuppoſition that the whole may be ſold for home conſumption, he is furthermore compelled to pay down the duties on the full quantity imported, before he is permitted to ſell any part. The home conſumption is then ſupplied; and a ſurplus remains, for which a vent offers in a foreign market. The foreign purchaſer, however, buys nothing for which the people of Great Britain chooſe to pay an equal price: they have the firſt offer, and refuſal of the whole.—Under what pretence then can the Britiſh government, whoſe language it is that all duties are, and ought to be, ultimately paid by the conſumer, retain the duties on ſuch part of the goods as are not purchaſed for the home ſupply? The mother country has already received the benefit of the freight; has had a preference in the ſale of the

BOOK VI.

goods, and obtained other mercantile advantages from its importation; and the owner has ſuffered the inconveniency of advancing a large ſum of money for duties on goods which ſhe refuſes to purchaſe,—an inconveniency of no ſmall account, inaſmuch as, beſides the loſs of intereſt, ſhould the goods periſh by fire, he would loſe both his goods and the duty;—perhaps, as an intereſted man, I am not competent to decide impartially on this queſtion; but *to me*, it appears that a final retention of the duties here ſpoken of, would be an outrageous exerciſe of power, without a ſhadow of right; a proceeding in the higheſt degree unjuſt, fraudulent, and oppreſſive.

As the foreign market will not bear the addition of the Engliſh duty, fifteen ſhillings *per cwt.* if the money is not refunded, are taken from the coloniſt, for having, againſt his will, and at a great expence of freightage, ſent his ſugar circuitouſly through Great Britain. Such an extortion for paſſing through a market to which he does not voluntarily reſort, is virtually fixing a forced price upon the commodity; and to do this, or by force to take the commodity from him, without giving any price for it—what is it, but an act of the ſame nature, differing only in degrees of violence?—The plea of neceſſity is not applicable to the caſe; the object not being, as in the caſe of corn, a *neceſſary* but a *luxury* of life; and the coloniſts to whom it belongs, have no ſhare in the power of regulating, if regulations are to be made concerning it.

If it be urged that foreigners have otherwiſe the advantage of ſometimes buying Britiſh plantation ſugar on cheaper terms than the people of Great Britain, it is anſwered, that this is a circumſtance for which the planter is no way reſponſible,

ſible, and in truth it is in itſelf but little to be regarded; ſince whenever it happens, the national gain is ſo much the greater; becauſe the kingdom profits much more by the quantity they purchaſed, and paid for in money by foreigners, than it would have done, if the ſame quantity had been conſumed at home.—Government has no means in this caſe of taxing the conſumption of foreign nations, for if the duty be added to the price of the commodity, the foreign demand is at an end. This objection therefore is nothing more than a complaint of the home conſumer, *that the duties are too heavy*; a complaint in which the planters will readily concur *.

Hitherto,

* Since the foregoing was written, an act of the Britiſh legiſlature has paſſed, entitled, "An act for regulating the "allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty on "the exportation of ſugar, and for permitting the importa- "tion of ſugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda "Iſlands in foreign ſhips." Concerning the latter part of the act, as the foreign ſugar and coffee are not to be conſumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouſes until re-exported, the planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies have no right to object to its proviſions; but with regard to the regulations of the drawback, &c. the caſe is widely different. By this law it is enacted, that "after the year 1792, whenever the average of the prices of brown or Muſcavado ſugar (to be taken weekly upon oath before the Lord Mayor of London, and publiſhed in the Gazette) ſhall exceed, in the ſix weeks which reſpectively precede the middle of February, June, and October, the amount of fifty ſhillings *per cwt.* (excluſive of the duty) the drawback on *raw* ſugar exported is immediately to ceaſe for four months, and the bounty on *refined* is to ceaſe during a like term, but commencing after an interval of one month." Such is the outline of this act, on which what I have already ſaid in the text, is perhaps a ſufficient comment; yet it may not be improper to take ſome notice of the great argument which was urged in ſupport of the meaſure in the Houſe of Commons; namely, that it was formed on the model of the corn trade ſyſtem. But the corn trade

BOOK VI.

Hitherto, I have ſpoken of the drawback on *raw* ſugar only. I am now to ſhew that my obſervations apply equally to that which is *refined*; by proving that what is called the *bounty*, is but little more than merely a modification of the drawback; the money allowed beyond the original duty being an allowance not more than adequate to the loſs of weight in the raw commodity for which the full duties have been paid by the importer, and the loſs of intereſt thereon, between the time of the payment thereof, and the time of the receipt of the bounty.

The proportions of refined ſugar, &c. procured by melting 112lbs. of raw ſugar, have been aſcertained by the committee of London refiners as follows, *viz.*

	lbs.
Refined ſugar in loaves and lumps -	$56\frac{5}{20}$
Baſtard or ground ſugar -	$22\frac{5}{20}$
Melaſſes or treacle - -	$28\frac{15}{20}$
Scum and dirt - - -	$4\frac{15}{20}$
	112lbs.

The bounty and drawback therefore, according to this calculation, will ſtand as follows, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
On loaf ſugar lbs. $56\frac{5}{20}$ at 26*s.*	—	13	—$\frac{1}{4}$
baſtards - $22\frac{5}{20}$ at 15*s.*	—	2	$11\frac{3}{4}$
	—	16	—
Duty paid - - -	—	15	—
Difference -	—	1	—

So

laws, though deſigned to reduce prices, are alſo contrived *to encourage production.* They therefore check exportation when the

CHAP. V.

So that the *apparent* loſs to the revenue ariſing from the bounty, is one ſhilling the cwt. and no more. But, as every hogſhead of ſugar loſes conſiderably in weight, after the duty is paid, and before it is either exported or worked up, and as by the preſent ſtrict regulations reſpecting tare, the duty is frequently paid for more ſugar than the caſks really contain, it is but a moderate calculation to ſay that every hogſhead (taking good ſugars and bad together) loſes 56 lbs. which at 15*s.* per cwt. the import duty, makes 7*s.* 6*d.* per hogſhead loſs to the planter, and a clear and certain gain to the revenue, let the ſugar be diſpoſed of as it may. Thus therefore is government reimburſed for a conſiderable part of what it appears to loſe by the bounty, and the intereſt which it gains by a depoſit of the whole duties on importation, makes up the remainder. The average annual import of raw ſugar is about 160,000 hogſheads of 12 cwt. net: now ſuppoſing every ounce of this was to be exported, and receive the drawback of 15*s.* per cwt. yet from the difference of weight alone in the ſame ſugar, occaſioned by an unavoidable waſte, government would have received in duties, from this ſingle article, between £.50,000 and £.60,000 *per annum* more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties on the ſame commodity.

The above is a plain ſtatement of facts concerning the drawbacks and bounties allowed by

the prices are high, *and give a bounty on exportation when the prices are low.* If the ſugar bill had been formed on the ſame principle, and had been meant to keep the price of the commodity at a fair medium between the public and the planter, it would have reduced the bounty when above the ſtandard, and taken off the home duty when below it, in ſuch proportions as to keep the balance even. In its preſent ſhape the act operates wholly againſt the planters.

government

BOOK VI.

government on the export of ſugar from Great Britain.—Of the ſyſtem at large, or general practice of allowing the duties on the home conſumption, to be drawn back on the export of goods to foreign markets, enough has been ſaid by other writers.—If it be true, as it is generally allowed to be, that Great Britain by this means eſtabliſhes between her plantations and foreign countries, an advantageous carrying trade, the profits of which center in herſelf, ſhe has no juſt reaſon to repine at the encouragement which is thus given to foreigners to reſort to her markets. It is paying money with one hand, to receive it back, in a different ſhape perhaps, but in more than a tenfold proportion, with the other; and no conſiderate ſtateſman will eaſily be perſuaded to think ſuch a ſyſtem improvident and prejudicial †.

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† The preſent inſpector general of the exports and imports, has given an opinion on the ſubject here treated of, which may be deemed ſingular. In his evidence before the Houſe of Commons, he conſiders the ſupplying foreign markets with the ſurplus produce of our own plantations as a matter of no account; and thinks it juſt and proper to encourage our own iſlands *no further than to the extent of ſupplying ourſelves.* He declares his opinion to be, that "the extenſion of the cultivation of the Weſt Indian iſlands beyond that degree that is requiſite for ſupplying Great Britain and her immediate dependencies with the principal articles of their produce, *is by no means likely to promote the intereſts of the empire.*" Theſe are his words; and perhaps it may ſerve more uſeful purpoſes than the gratification of curioſity, to contraſt them with the opinions of other men, who (if not of equal celebrity with Mr. Irving) were conſidered, in their day, to poſſeſs a conſiderable ſhare of political and commercial knowledge.—Thus, in a tract by William Penn, entitled "The Benefit of Plantations or Colonies," that celebrated legiſlator expreſſes himſelf in the following terms:

"I deny the vulgar opinion againſt plantations, that they "weaken England; they have manifeſtly enriched, and ſo "ſtrengthened

I am now brought to the third ground of objection; comprehending a ſubject of wider extent and CHAP. V.

" ſtrengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus: Firſt, " thoſe that go into a foreign plantation, their induſtry there, " is worth more than if they ſtayed at home, the product of " their labour being in commodities of a ſuperior nature to " thoſe of this country: for inſtance, what is an improved " acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an improved acre in " England? We know it is three times the value, and the " product of it comes for England, and is uſually paid for in " Engliſh growth and manufacture. Nay, Virginia ſhews, " that an ordinary induſtry in one man produces three thou- " ſand pounds weight of tobacco, and twenty barrels of corn " yearly: he feeds himſelf, and brings as much of the com- " modity into England beſides, as being returned in the " growth and workmanſhip of this country, is much more " than he could have ſpent here: Let it alſo be remembered, " that the three thouſand weight of tobacco brings in two " thouſand two-pences by way of cuſtom to the king, which " makes twenty-five pounds; an extraordinary profit. Se- " condly, *more being produced and imported than we can ſpend* " *here, we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings* " *in money, or the growth of thoſe countries, which is the ſame* " *thing; and this is the advantage of the Engliſh merchants and* " *ſeamen.*"

To the ſame purport writes Dr. Charles Davenant, who, if I miſtake not, held the very ſame employment of inſpector of the exports and imports which is now exerciſed with ſuch ſuperior ability by Mr. Irving. " By whatever the returns (meaning the returns from our own plantations) are worth (ſaith Doctor Davenant) beyond the goods exported thither, *the nation is, by ſo much, a gainer.* There is a limited ſtock of our own product to carry out, beyond which there is no paſſing. As for example, there is ſuch a quantity of woollen manufacture, lead, tin, &c. which, over and above our own conſumption, we can export abroad; and there is likewiſe a limited quantity of theſe goods which foreign conſumption will not exceed. Now, if our expenditure of foreign materials be above this, and more than our own product will fetch, for the overplus we ſhould be forced to go to market with money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourſelves other ways, which are, *by exchanging our plantation goods for their materials,*" &c. In another place, Davenant ſtates

BOOK VI.

and more important conſideration, than either of thoſe which I have diſcuſſed in this chapter; and on which, prejudice, ſelf-intereſt, ignorance, and miſinformation, have jointly contributed to throw a veil of obſcurity; I mean the privilege which is veſted in the planters of the Britiſh Weſt Indies, of ſupplying the Britiſh market with their chief ſtaple commodities, in excluſion of foreigners; the high duties on foreign ſugars, and ſome other products of the Weſt Indies, operating (as they were meant to do) ſo as to prohibit their importation.

The leading principle of colonization in all the maritime ſtates of Europe, Great Britain among the reſt, was, as I have elſewhere obſerved, *commercial monopoly*.—The word *monopoly*, in this caſe, admitted a very extenſive interpretation. It com-

ſtates the imports from all the plantations at the Revolution at £.950,000 *per annum*, "whereof (ſaith he) £.350,000 being conſumed at home, is about equal to our exports thither, *and the remainder, viz.* £.600,000, *being re-exported, is the national gain by that trade.*"

To the foregoing authorities might likewiſe be added thoſe of the honeſt and intelligent Joſhua Gee, and the learned and accurate Doctor John Campbell; but perhaps, to a common underſtanding, the concluſion is too clear and ſelf-evident to require illuſtration or authority; namely, *that the export from Great Britain to foreign markets of her colonial products is juſt as beneficial to the Britiſh trade, as the export of corn, or any other production of the mother country, and equally encreaſes the balance of trade in her favour.* I ſhall therefore only obſerve further, that the export of ſugar alone from this kingdom for the ſupply of the foreign European markets during the years 1790 and 1791, was 277,656 *cwt.* of raw, and 278,391 *cwt.* of refined, which, at the rate of 45*s. per cwt.* for the raw, and of 90*s. per cwt.* for the refined, added £.1,600,000 ſterling to the balance of trade in favour of the mother country, and enabled her to pay more than one half the ſum which is annually drawn out of the kingdom for the intereſt or dividends of money lodged by foreigners in the Britiſh funds.

prehended

prehended the monopoly of ſupply, the monopo- CHAP. ly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of ma- V. nufacture. By the firſt, the coloniſts were prohibited from reſorting to foreign markets for the ſupply of their wants; by the ſecond, they were compelled to bring their chief ſtaple commodities to the mother country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured ſtate, that her own manufacturers might ſecure to themſelves all the advantages ariſing from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried ſo far in the colonial ſyſtem of Great Britain, as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare in parliament, *that the Britiſh Coloniſts in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horſe-ſhoe.*

As a compenſation for theſe reſtrictions and prohibitions on the colonies of Great Britain, to favour the navigation, revenues, manufactures, and inhabitants of the mother country, the coloniſts became poſſeſſed of certain commercial advantages; among the reſt, of the privilege beforementioned—the ſubject of our preſent diſcuſſion—that of an excluſive acceſs to the Britiſh market for the ſale of their produce. Thus the benefits were reciprocal; and each country, Great Britain and her colonies, became a permanent ſtaple, or mart, for the products and trade of the other.

Such was the arrangement, or double monopoly, which, with a few exceptions, Great Britain, in the plenitude of her imperial capacity, thought fit to eſtabliſh. It was the baſis of her commercial intercourſe with her trans-atlantic plantations, and ſhe terms it herſelf a ſyſtem of "correſpondence and kindneſs ‡." Whether it was an arrangement founded in wiſdom and found

‡ Preamble to the 15th C. II. Ch. 7.

policy,

BOOK VI. policy, it is now too late to enquire. It has exiſted, it has been confirmed, it has been admired, it has been imitated; and the coloniſts have embarked their fortunes upon the faith of it. All therefore that remains, is to point out the value and importance of the colonial contribution. We have ſhewn its nature and origin; its magnitude remains yet to be ſtated. It is preſumed that nothing more than this, is neceſſary to demonſtrate that, if there is any ſecurity in the national faith, ſolemnly pledged and repeatedly ratified, the ſyſtem is become a fixed and permanent *compact*; which cannot now be violated by either party, without the fulleſt compenſation to the other, but on principles which, if admitted, may ſerve to juſtify a departure from the ordinary rules of juſtice on any occaſion.

Firſt then, as to the monopoly exerciſed by Great Britain of ſupplying their wants:—The coloniſts are prohibited from purchaſing of foreigners, not only thoſe articles which Great Britain can ſupply from her own reſources, but alſo many which ſhe is herſelf obliged to purchaſe from foreigners. Thus a double voyage is rendered neceſſary, that Great Britain may benefit by the freightage; the expence of which, and all other profits, being added to the coſt of the goods, the extra price which the coloniſts pay is clearly ſo much profit to her, and loſs to them. The commodities which the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies might purchaſe on cheaper terms than at the Britiſh market, are various. Eaſt Indian goods, including tea, might at all times have been obtained from Holland, and of late may be bought very reaſonably in America §.

§ The tea imported by the Americans in 1791, directly from China, was 2,601,852 lbs.—Prices in Philadelphia 33 per cent. lower than in London, the drawback deducted.

Germany

Germany would ſupply the coarſer linens, an article of vaſt conſumption in negro clothing, and France would furniſh ſoap and candles, ſilk manufactures of all kinds, cambrics, wines, and a thouſand other articles of leſs importance. From the United States of America alſo might be obtained bar and pig iron, ſalted beef and pork, ſalted and pickled fiſh, train and ſpermaceti oil, and ſome few manufactures, as beaver hats, and ſpermaceti candles, &c. ‖ All theſe, are articles of vaſt conſumption, and are now ſupplied excluſively by Great Britain and her dependencies to an immenſe amount, and in Britiſh veſſels only; and ſo rigidly have the laws of navigation been enforced by the mother country, that not only the convenience and neceſſities of the colonies have given way to them, but a dreadful ſacrifice has even been made to the ſyſtem, of the lives of 15,000 of their miſerable negroes, as the reader has elſewhere been informed! CHAP. V.

On the ſame principle, to increaſe the ſhipping and naval power of the mother country, the coloniſts are not permitted, even in time of war, to avail themſelves of the cheapneſs and ſecurity of neutral bottoms, in ſending their produce to the Britiſh market. By this ſecond monopoly, Great Britain has ſecured to herſelf a preference of the whole world in the ſale of their ſtaple commodities, and is thus rendered independent of thoſe nations from whom ſhe was formerly ſupplied, (as the Portugueſe for inſtance, who had the original monopoly of ſugar) and over whoſe exports ſhe has no controul. That this is an advantage of no ſmall account, appears from the fol-

‖ The export of ſalted beef and pork from the United States of America in 1791 was 66,000 barrels. The medium price of the pork was 37*s.* ſterling the barrel; of the beef 28*s.*

lowing

BOOK VI. lowing circumſtance recorded by the author of an *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations.* "About the beginning of the preſent century (ſays that writer) the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raiſe the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ſhips, at their own price, and in ſuch quantities as they thought proper." It is ſurely unneceſſary to obſerve, that no ſuch ſelfiſh policy can at any time be diſplayed by the ſubordinate and dependent governments of the colonies.

But the circumſtance that preſſes with the greateſt weight on the Britiſh planters in the Weſt Indies, is that branch of the monopoly, which, reſerving for the manufacturers in Great Britain, all ſuch improvements as the colonial produce is capable of receiving beyond its raw ſtate, or firſt ſtage of manufacture, prohibits the coloniſts from refining their great ſtaple commodity (ſugar) for exportation. This is effected by the heavy duty of £.4. 18*s.* 8*d.* *the cwt.* on all refined or loaf ſugar imported, while raw or muſcavado pays only 15*s.* The difference operates (as it was intended) as a complete prohibition. "To prohibit a great body of people (ſays the author before quoted) * from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their ſtock and induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind." To this violation however the Weſt Indian planters have hitherto ſubmitted without a murmur, conſidering it as one of the conditions of the compact, or reciprocal monopoly.

* Wealth of Nations.

The

The great hardſhip on the planters in this caſe is, that the loſs to them by the prohibition, is far more than proportionate to the gain acquired by Great Britain. As this circumſtance is not fully underſtood, the ſubject not having, to my knowledge, been diſcuſſed in any of the publications that have treated of colonial commerce, I ſhall point out a few of the many advantages of which the planters are deprived by this reſtriction.

The firſt advantage would be an entire ſaving of the loſs which is now ſuſtained in the quantity of raw ſugar, between the time of ſhipping in the Weſt Indies, and the day of ſale in Great Britain, ariſing chiefly from unavoidable waſte at ſea by drainage. To aſcertain this loſs with all poſſible exactneſs, I have compared, in a great many inſtances, the invoice weights taken at the time of ſhipping, with the ſale weights of the ſame goods in the merchants books in London; and I will venture to fix the loſs, on the average of good and bad ſugar, at one-eighth part: in other words, a hogſhead of ſugar weighing net 16 cwt. when ſhipped in Jamaica, ſhall, when ſold in London, be found to weigh 14 cwt. only. The difference therefore is a dead loſs both to the public and the planter. The former, loſe the uſe of two hundred pounds weight of ſugar, and the latter, is deprived of its value, which, at 40*s.* per cwt. may be ſtated at £.3 6*s.* per hogſhead, the merchant's charges deducted.

Another ſaving to the planter would ariſe from the article of melaſſes, of which 112 lbs. of raw ſugar yield in the London refinery 28¾ lbs.: I will ſay 28 lbs. only. On this proportion, a hogſhead of raw ſugar at the ſhipping weight (16 cwt.) would, if refined in the colonies, yield the planter 448 lbs. being equal to 64 gallons. This, valued at

BOOK VI. at 9*d.* ſterling per gallon, gives £.2 8*s.* It will be ſaid perhaps that the Britiſh refiner includes the value of the melaſſes produced in the refinery, in the eſtimate of his profits, and is thereby enabled to give a larger price for raw ſugar to the planter, who thus receives payment for the article ſaid to be loſt. It muſt be remembered, however, that the ſugar planter in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is his own diſtiller; and having the neceſſary buildings, ſtills, &c. already provided, would convert this melaſſes into rum, without any additional expence; and by this means add to its value ſomewhat more than one-third. This additional value, therefore, would be clear profit. Thus allowing 64 gallons of melaſſes to produce only 40 gallons of rum of the Jamaica proof, theſe, at 1*s.* 10*d.* ſterling the gallon, would yield £.3 13*s.* 4*d.*: the difference is £.1 5*s.* 4*d.* which may therefore be eſtimated as the loſs now ſuſtained by the planter in the article of melaſſes, on every hogſhead of muſcavado ſugar ſhipped to Great Britain.

To the foregoing might perhaps be added the ſaving of freight, on the difference between the weight of raw and refined ſugar; but I will reckon nothing on this account, becauſe I am of opinion that any given quantity of refined ſugar made into loaves, though leſs in weight, will nevertheleſs occupy more ſpace than the full quantity of raw ſugar from which it is made. It is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the price of freight would be advanced in proportion; a circumſtance which ought to obviate all manner of objection to the ſyſtem, from the owners of ſhips employed in its tranſportation.

But the great and deciſive advantage that would accrue to the planter from refining his own ſugar in

in the colonies, ariſes from the circumſtance that his capital, or ſtock, is already provided to his hands; without which the ſavings that have been ſtated would avail him but little. I mean, not only that he poſſeſſes the raw material, but alſo, that the buildings and apparatus of all kinds which are requiſite for the manufacture of muſcavado ſugar, are, with a very ſmall addition, all that are wanted for the buſineſs of refining *. The neceſſary additions on each plantation would conſiſt chiefly of a drying houſe, provided with ſtoves for baking the loaves, and an annual ſupply of earthen veſſels or moulds in which the loaves are formed; with the further proviſion of negro labourers to be employed ſolely in the branch of the manufacture. The whole muſt be proportioned to the extent of the property. I have endeavoured to aſcertain ſome rule for judging of this with as much preciſion as the ſubject will admit, and, without perplexing the reader with a variety of dry calculations, will obſerve generally, that an allowance of forty ſhillings ſterling for each hogſhead of muſcavado ſugar, I find to be abundantly liberal. This ſum therefore I ſhall deduct from the difference of price at the Britiſh market between raw and refined ſugar, which otherwiſe would be ſo much clear profit to the planter. The Engliſh refiner not having the ſame advan-

* The planters of Jamaica frequently refine ſugar for domeſtic uſe, and I have ſeen it done in as great perfection as in London. In St. Domingo a proceſs has been diſcovered of refining muſcavado with the juice of limes and lemons. A refiner from thence of the name of Millet came to Jamaica in 1790, and introduced this practice with great ſucceſs. I ſaw myſelf refined ſugar made by him at Hyde Hall Plantation in Trelawny, with no other material than the juice of limes and Seville oranges, which for tranſparency and elegance ſurpaſſed the fineſt treble refined produced by the London refiners.

tages,

BOOK VI.

tages, has to deduct the intereſt of a much larger proportionate capital, and far greater expences in conducting the manufacture. Now 112 lbs. of raw ſugar ſold in London may be reckoned, when the prices are favourable, to yield the planter clear of all charges £.1 13*s.* The ſame quantity refined, would yield of loaves and baſtards to the value of £.2 1*s.* 5*d.* excluſive of the melaſſes. The difference is 8*s.* 5*d.* per hundred weight, or £.5 17*s.* 10*d.* the hogſhead of 14 cwt. Deduct from this the extra expence of refining in the colony (40*s.* per hogſhead) there remains £.3. 17*s.* 10*d.* which being added to the former ſums, it will be found that the whole loſs ſuſtained by the planter for the ſake of the Britiſh refinery, is not leſs than £.8 9*s.* 2*d.* ſterling on every hogſhead of his ſugar of 16 cwt. which he ſends to the Engliſh market. Perhaps the circumſtance may come more immediately home to the reader, by ſhewing how this loſs affects an individual. For inſtance, the average returns of Mr. Beckford's plantations, are, if I miſtake not, about two thouſand hogſheads of ſugar annually. He ſuſtains therefore a loſs of £.16,916 13*s.* 4*d.* *per annum*, that the Britiſh refiners may get about one-third of the money!

It is however to be remembered, that the preceding calculations are founded on the ſuppoſition that leave was granted to import refined ſugar into Great Britain from the Britiſh colonies at the ſame duties which are now paid on raw or muſcavado. I am apprized that the revenue would, in that caſe, ſuſtain a loſs proportionate to the diminution in the quantity of ſugar imported, unleſs it was (as undoubtedly it would be) made up by an adequate increaſe of the duties on the improved commodity. With every allowance however

however on this account (as well as for an increaſed rate of freight) the planter's profits would be ſufficiently great; and in truth, refined ſugar imported from the colonies, would afford to bear a much heavier duty than merely ſuch a rateable contribution; ſo that the revenue would not be injured, but greatly improved by its importation, while the public at large would obtain ſugar in its beſt ſtate much cheaper than they obtain it at preſent *.

Thus

* My buſineſs is not to ſeek out reſources for increaſing the public revenue, but as a matter of curioſity, I beg leave to ſubjoin the following facts: The quantity of raw or muſcavado ſugar imported from the Britiſh plantations into Great Britain in the year 1787, was 1,926,121 cwt. and the groſs duty paid thereon was £.1,187,774. 12*s.* 8*d.* If this ſugar had been kept to be refined in the plantations, it would have been one-eighth more in quantity; that proportion having been loſt at ſea by drainage. This would have made 2,166,886 cwt. which, according to the computation of the London refiners, would have yielded 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf, and 425,638 cwt. of baſtards (excluding fractions). Now ſuppoſing the duty on loaf ſugar had been only 10*s.* *per cwt.* more than the preſent duty on muſcavado (which it would have well afforded) and the baſtard ſugar to have continued at 15*s.* per cwt. the Britiſh revenue in that caſe would have received as follows: (both the public and the planter being at the ſame time benefited in a high degree) viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf - at 25*s.* per cwt.	1,354,303	15	—
425,638 cwt. of baſtards, at 15*s.* per cwt. -	319,228	10	—
Duties which might have been levied	1,673,532	5	—
Duties actually paid in 1787 -	1,187,774	12	8
Difference in favour of the revenue	485,757	12	4

Such is the ſacrifice which is made by the planters of the Weſt Indies, and the public of Great Britain, in ſupporting

BOOK VI.

Thus have I ſhewn the magnitude of the price at which the Britiſh coloniſts in the Weſt Indies have purchaſed, for a century paſt, the monopoly of the Britiſh market for their chief ſtaple commodities. It is monopoly for monopoly; an arrangement not framed by the colonies, but by the mother country herſelf, who has ſuffered it to grow ſacred by time, has recognized it by a multitude of laws, and enforced it by ſtricter ties and recent proviſions. Well therefore did

the private intereſts of that uſeleſs intermediate body of people the ſugar refiners in England; who, whenever the caſualties of war, or providential calamities have overtaken the Weſt Indies, and thereby created a temporary advance in the price of raw ſugar, have been the firſt to raiſe a clamour againſt the monopoly of ſupply enjoyed by the planters, themſelves at the ſame time poſſeſſing the monopoly which I have deſcribed! It may not be uſeleſs to add, that thoſe people are, in a proportion unknown in any other branch of trade, *foreigners*; who live in the moſt frugal way in England (about one thouſand in the whole) and retire with their ſavings to their own country. There are few operations more ſimple or which require a leſs expenſive apparatus, than that of refining ſugar. Can it then be juſt or reaſonable to ſacrifice to a manufacture, thus ſubordinate in its nature and limited in its extent, the eſſential intereſts of 65,000 Britiſh ſubjects in the Weſt Indies, and half a million of money, which is now annually loſt to Great Britain, that this manufacture may be ſupported? It is remarkable that the ſame obſervation occurred to Davenant, who wrote ſoon after the revolution in 1688. Speaking of the impropriety of laying heavy duties on the produce of the Weſt Indies, he proceeds in theſe words: "And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly, of the high impoſition laid upon refined ſugars imported hither, upon a wrong notion of advancing our manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the account of about fifty families (for the refiners of England are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the induſtry of at leaſt 14,000 perſons, which are about the number of thoſe who inhabit our iſlands producing ſugar." *(Davenant, Diſcourſe 3, on the Plantation Trade.)* What would this author have ſaid, had he known the facts which I have ſtated above?

a great

a great ſtateſman * obſerve, "that it was a compact more ſolemn than any that an act of parliament could create;" and when ſpeculative men aſſert, and intereſted men complain, that a compact thus founded and ſupported is at this time not ſufficiently favourable to Great Britain; the anſwer is obvious. If Great Britain regrets its operation and wiſhes to diſſolve it, let her firſt make compenſation to the coloniſts for all that they have undertaken, and the ſacrifice they have made, under it; and next, when ſhe releaſes herſelf from all future obligation to obſerve it, let the releaſe be reciprocal; extending equally to one party and the other. This done, the coloniſts will have no cauſe to accuſe her of injuſtice, —but this not done, they will aſſert that ſhe has violated her faith with them; that her conduct is oppreſſive and fraudulent; and her ſtatutes ſnares to the unwary. CHAP. V.

In the mean time, it is impoſſible not to conſider as exceedingly partial and unjuſt, thoſe clamours and attempts by which, on any temporary advance in the prices of Weſt Indian products, the public diſcontent is pointed towards the inhabitants of our ſugar iſlands. They are partial, inaſmuch as they conſider the burthens and wants of the conſumers on one ſide, without adverting to the burthens and diſtreſſes of the coloniſts on the other. They are unjuſt, as their manifeſt aim is to extend to rivals and foreigners, whoſe trade is not ſubject to be controuled by Britiſh laws, thoſe advantages which have been purchaſed by, and ſtand excluſively pledged to, the Britiſh Weſt Indies, whoſe trade is ſtill to be left bound by our regulations.—At this juncture indeed, now that

* Mr. Fox.

BOOK VI.

the largeneſs of the exportation has demonſtrated, that no foreign colonies in the Weſt Indies can ſupply us with ſugar, cheaper than our own, another project, of more fatal and extenſive miſchief, is reſorted to; and the national attention is awakened by the hopes of a vaſt and profitable ſugar culture, under the foſtering protection of government, in the boundleſs regions of the Eaſt Indies. Thoſe plantations which have hitherto proved more than adequate to our wants; which, from proximity and inſular ſituation, are eaſily defended; which enrich our manufacturers, encourage our fiſheries, and return all their acquirements into the boſom of their alienated parent, are it ſeems to be neglected, and the national encouragement diverted to diſtant independent countries, whoſe inhabitants purchaſe but few of our commodities, and conſume none of our fiſh, but take bullion inſtead of them; who rather ſend manufactures to our markets, than receive them from us; and whoſe exports may be checked and controuled by a thouſand accidents which at this diſtance can neither be obviated nor foreſeen. In ſhort, by recommending the ſettlement of ſugar plantations beyond the Cape of Good Hope, this project maintains that it is wiſe to remove encouragement from proximate and dependent colonies, to countries which, being placed beyond the reach of civil regulations from hence, can be governed only by the ſword, and which, at no very remote period, may regain their independence;—when however it will be too late to reſort back to our ruined and deſerted colonies in the Weſt Indies!

If the reader imagines that the intention of this ſcheme is to open a ſugar trade with the Eaſt Indies, to Britiſh ſubjects without diſtinction, it is neceſſary he ſhould be informed that nothing is farther

farther from the thoughts of its advocates and promoters. Their aim is to transfer the monopoly of the Weſt Indies, to the monopoliſts of the Eaſt; being well apprized that a great importation of ſugar for a few years from India, would effectually ſtop the cultivation of this article in the Britiſh colonies, after which the market would be their own; and the ſupply, as in the caſe of all other articles of *foreign* growth, be encreaſed or diminiſhed, as the intereſt of the importer, not of the public, ſhould regulate and direct. CHAP. V.

For myſelf, I am unwilling to believe that the Britiſh government has at any time meditated intentional injury towards the ſugar iſlands, and therefore cannot be perſuaded that ſuch a project will ever receive the ſanction and ſupport of adminiſtration. The planters however, judging of the future by the paſt, have abundant cauſe for anxiety and alarm; and if it were permitted to an uncourtly Weſt Indian to expoſtulate, freely and explicitly, with the king's miniſters on the treatment which thoſe colonies have experienced from the mother country during the laſt twenty years, and on the danger to be dreaded from innovation, he might diſplay a ſtatement of facts,—unpleaſant indeed to hear,—but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a perſon might, without any deviation from truth, preſent them with a detail not unlike the following *:

"It is well known (he might ſay) that the ſufferings of thoſe colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great; and that at the concluſion of the war, ſuch of the planters as ſurvived the vexations of the enemy, and were

* See an exceeding well-written pamphlet, entitled *The Caſe of the Sugar Colonies*, from whence this detail is copied almoſt verbatim.

not

BOOK VI.

not actually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great many were, were reduced to embarraſſments nearly approaching to it. For the honour of the Britiſh name it ought to be recorded, that no ſooner was an iſland taken from under the Britiſh protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purpoſes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your veſſels of war cruized upon them, and made prize of our effects wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection againſt your depredations; until the higheſt authorities in the law had pronounced ſuch conduct to be illegal; and parliament interfered to facilitate the paſſage of the products of Grenada, which having ſurrendered at diſcretion, were ſtill expoſed to capture. Even the hurricane, that moſt awful viſitation of Providence, which uſually arreſts the vengeance of men, and by exciting ſofter affections, diſpoſes them to acts of fraternity, loſt its uſual effect of procuring a paſſage even for the neceſſaries of life; and thoſe whom the ſtorm had ſpared, your rapacity would have ſtarved.

"The war ceaſed, and with it the dominion of France over all the iſlands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity); but our miſeries ſtill ſurvived; for the treaty of eighty-two, which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hoſtilities to the ſugar colonies; as they have never ceaſed from that time to the preſent, to be harraſſed with vexations of one kind or another. The firſt meaſure by which they were annoyed, aroſe in the policy of the ſtate. It was thought neceſſary to diſſolve their connexion with the continent. The conſequence of which was, that Jamaica being deprived of its produce of negro proviſions by a ſeries of tempeſts

peſts and unfavourable ſeaſons, loſt fifteen thou- CHAP. V.
ſand of her ſlaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity as if it were a national virtue!

"What ſince has been the diſpoſition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular converſation at this day; from the conduct of large bodies aſſociated for the abolition of the ſlave trade, and ultimately of ſlavery itſelf; from the eſtabliſhments projected and in execution, on the coaſt of Africa, with views declaredly hoſtile to our intereſts; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily iſſue from the preſs to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters in the public opinion; from the indefatigable circulation of addreſſes, exhorting the people to the diſuſe of Weſt Indian ſugar; and laſtly, from various propoſals with reſpect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In ſo many ſhapes does this ſpirit manifeſt itſelf, as to give juſt grounds to conclude, that ſomething like a decided purpoſe is entertained for the total ruin of the ſugar colonies, and that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the ſyſtem which is to be conſummated by the grand meaſure of raiſing of rivals to our monopoly in your eſtabliſhments in the eaſt.

"It has been imputed as a reproach to the ſugar colonies, that they are expenſive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the Weſt Indian colonies the cauſe of war; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cauſe it may ariſe, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war; they are the victims, but never the origin of the teſt. The inhabitants of the French and Engliſh iſlands live in an habitual intercourſe of good offices,

BOOK VI.

offices, and would wiſh for eternal peace; and they have reaſon for it, for what are they to gain by war?

"When, therefore, we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters, we find ourſelves totally at a loſs to conjecture what it is that could excite ſo much acrimony againſt us; as there exiſts none of thoſe cauſes, which uſually provoke the envy of men, and exaſperate their malignity. The Weſt Indians are not remarkable (with very few exceptions) either for their gigantic opulence, or an oſtentatious diſplay of it. They do not emerge rapidly from poverty and inſignificance into conſpicuous notice. Such of them as poſſeſs fortunes of diſtinguiſhed magnitude, as ſome gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earlieſt records of the iſland, and their adventures were coeval with the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, and of courſe their properties, ſuch as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of ſucceſſive generations. Many there are, indeed, who have competencies that enable them to live with œconomy, in this country; but the great maſs are men of oppreſſed fortunes, conſigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their graſp, of happier days, and a releaſe from their embarraſſments. Such are the times which we have lately ſeen, that if ſuffered to continue, might poſſibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their diſtreſſes. But it ſeems that poverty is conſidered as the legitimate heritage of every Weſt Indian planter. They may encounter loſs, and ſtruggle with adverſity; but never are they to profit of contingencies

gencies that may enable them to repair the diſaſ- CHAP.
ters of adverſe fortune, to which they are pecu- V.
liarly ſubjected by their poſition.

" If the miniſter means the ruin of the Weſt Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extenſive cultivation of the ſugar cane in the Eaſt Indies, with a view to the ſupply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppoſe to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our reſentments important; but it would be a baſe deſertion of intereſt, to ſuffer ourſelves to be intimidated into a voluntary ſurrender of right. We proteſt therefore againſt any innovation, and adhere to the ſyſtem of double monopoly: There we are at anchor; and if there is no ſecurity any where againſt the ſtorms and afflictions of Providence, ſo neither is there againſt the injuſtice of men; but we ſhall at leaſt have the conſolation of not ſuffering the reproaches of our own boſoms, or of leaving accuſers in our poſterity!"

To ſuch a remonſtrance as the foregoing, reſpectfully but firmly delivered, it is difficult to ſay, what reply could be given. If, however, it is not the wiſh or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, by depriving them of their monopoly, their apprehenſions on that head may be eaſily removed. In this important buſineſs ſatisfaction being given, to the reſt, if candour were to dictate an anſwer, although much muſt be admitted, much too might be ſaid, and honeſtly ſaid, to ſoften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harſh and unkind the conduct of the mother country has occaſionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all that they poſſeſs; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion

BOOK VI.

gion and liberty; deriving from her parental ſolicitude and powerful protection, every circumſtance that renders them proſperous in themſelves, and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and deſtructive war which terminated in the diſmemberment of the empire, they had their ſhare—perhaps more than their ſhare—of the general calamity, they will not forget that all of them that had ſuffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were reſtored by the peace to the bleſſings of a Britiſh conſtitution and government. Perhaps, ſince that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous freedom, might in ſome points have been wiſhed and expected; but it ſhould be remembered, that they enjoy, and have long enjoyed, as a compenſation for commercial reſtraint, the privilege of the Britiſh market, and the benefit of the Britiſh capital. They poſſeſs too, every characteriſtic mark of a free people in their internal concerns. They are taxed ſolely by their own repreſentatives, and have not the image, but the ſubſtance alſo, of an Engliſh conſtitution. This whole ſtate of commercial ſervitude and civil liberty (as a great writer* hath well obſerved) taken together, though certainly not perfect freedom, yet comparing it with the ordinary circumſtances of human nature, may be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition.

To the candid and ingenuous, I truſt I need not offer any apology for thus having, in the concluſion of my book, ſuggeſted conſiderations, which may tend to obviate miſapprehenſions, remove prejudices, and mitigate anger between thoſe, who though divided by local ſituation, are allied to each other by the deareſt ties of intereſt, affection, and conſanguinity. I have thought this the more neceſſary, as it appears, by the bitter-

* Mr. Burke.

neſs

neſs and acrimony with which ſome men ſpeak of the ſugar colonies, that their aim is to inſtigate the national reſentment, and heighten the public animoſity towards them. Inſtead of manifeſting a diſpoſition, "fond to ſpread friendſhips and to cover heats," theſe gentlemen ſeem to me to exert their talents in miſrepreſentations, which can anſwer no other end than to ſet the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of thoſe fanatical writings on ſlavery and the ſlave trade, which, equally diſgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the moſt daring and outrageous falſhoods without ſcruple or ſhame. I allude to authors of a very different ſtamp; to perſons who, having the means of better information, and poſſeſſing abilities to influence the public opinion, have ſuffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man perſonally intereſted in the welfare of the ſugar colonies, I have attempted, by diſplaying their importance and value, to point out the wiſdom and neceſſity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindneſs on the one ſide, I have, as a loyal and dutiful ſubject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the coloniſts reflect ſoberly, I am perſuaded they will perceive that, in a conteſt with the mother country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may diſpoſe to mutual confidence and moderation; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the ſtrength, proſperity, and glory of Great Britain!

END OF THE SIXTH BOOK.

APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO

VOLUME THE SECOND.

APPENDIX.

THE Report of a Committee of the Houſe of Aſſembly of Jamaica, of which the following is an abridgement, was received by the author after a great part of this work was printed off. This abſtract is now added, becauſe it contains much valuable and authentic information concerning moſt of the ſubjects diſcuſſed in this volume. The ſubſequent tables are ſubjoined for the ſame reaſon. Of theſe, the *firſt* and *ſecond* are taken from a late publication by the Eaſt India Company, and are therein ſaid to have been furniſhed by the inſpector general of the cuſtoms of Great Britain. The *third* is a continuation of the ſecond, ſomewhat differently arranged, in order that a ſtate of the ſugar trade, the refinery, &c. and the home conſumption of that article, during four years preceding the late war, and four years ſince its termination, may be ſeen at one view. The *fourth* and *fifth* are the more valuable, as they contain official information which is not to be procured at any public department

in Great Britain. For theſe laſt-mentioned documents I am indebted to the kindneſs of John Forbes, Eſquire, a very diſtinguiſhed member of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland; to whoſe noble and patriotic exertion it is, in a great degree, owing that the trade is now free and open in a direct intercourſe between that Kingdom and the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt Indies; a trade which every good ſubject muſt rejoice to perceive is daily increaſing, inaſmuch as that commerce which is reciprocally beneficial to her dependencies, cannot fail ultimately to promote the general wealth of the mother country.

JAMAICA,

JAMAICA, HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

VENERIS, 23° *die Novembris*, 1792.

MR. Shirley, from the committee appointed to enquire into, and report to the houſe, the ſtate of the ſugar trade, and the effect which an act, paſſed during the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, entitled, *An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty, on the exportation of ſugar; and for permitting the importation of ſugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda iſlands, in foreign ſhips*, is likely to have on the ſaid ſugar trade; to enquire into the conſequences that may follow an abolition of the ſlave-trade; &c. &c. reported as follows:

THAT, in obedience to the order of the houſe, they had proceeded to collect the beſt information that could be obtained, to enable them to judge of the effects that muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the operations of an act evidently calculated to prevent the price of ſugar exceeding a certain ſtandard; for which purpoſe the committee thought it proper to compare together two periods of time, in which the Weſt India colonies enjoyed the bleſſings of peace, and in which the quantity of ſugar imported into Great Britain from the Weſt Indies was nearly the ſame, but its value very different. The firſt period comprehends the term of four years, *viz.* 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, (it was not till the beginning of 1776 that the American privateers began to ſeize Weſt India ſhips); the ſecond commences with 1788, and includes the three ſubſequent years: During both theſe periods, none of the ſugar colonies were afflicted with hurricanes; in the former, the importation of ſugar into Great Britain amounted to 3,921,781 *cwt.* from Jamaica, and to 3,762,804 *cwt.* from the reſt of the ſugar colonies; and in the latter to 5,130,085 *cwt.* from this iſland,

iſland, and to 2,563,228 *cwt.* from the reſt of the iſlands.

And it appears from the reports of the lords of the committee of council, ſubmitted to his majeſty's conſideration, that the quantity of tonnage of Britiſh veſſels that have cleared outwards from Jamaica alone to all the parts of the world, between the 5th of January 1787 and 5th of January 1788, amounted to 85,788 tons; and from the books of the receiver general of this iſland, it appears that, from the 1ſt of January to the 31ſt of December 1791, it has been 138,149 tons; an increaſe, in the ſpace of three years, of 52,361 tons, of the utmoſt importance to the navigation of Great Britain, giving employment to 5,700 additional ſeamen.

Many circumſtances were favourable to this iſland during the firſt period, particularly the price of ſlaves, which, upon an average of 29 cargoes, was 34*l.* 10*s.* 3½*d.* ſterling *per* head, whereas during the latter it has been 47*l.* 2*s.* 6½*d.* and is now 59*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* an advance of 71 *per cent.* the natural conſequence of which is, that hired labour has riſen from 14*d.* to 21*d.* ſterling *per* day. During the ſame period, the price of lumber from America has increaſed 37 *per cent.* ſalted beef from Ireland 22½, and ſalted pork 10 *per cent.* and in regard to that moſt eſſential article of conſumption, herrings, (with which our negroes muſt be fed), the advance is no leſs than 66 *per cent.*

Notwithſtanding ſo conſiderable an advance in the price of herrings, the committee perceive, by an account returned by the naval officer, that during the firſt period 76,168 barrels were imported, and that during the latter the importation amounted to 169,051 barrels.

The committee have further to ſtate that, in conſequence of the ſcarcity of wood in many parts of the iſland, a number of ſugar eſtates are obliged to import fuel from Great Britain; whereby the collieries are benefited, and the Britiſh navigation encouraged.

Among other circumſtances, likewiſe, which occurred in theſe two periods, favourable to the firſt, it appears, from

from the minutes of the houſe, that the taxes raiſed in this Iſland in 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, amounted to 111,422*l.* 0*s.* 8½*d.* ſterling, which, on an average, is 27,855*l.* 10*s.* 2*d.* each year; whereas, in the latter period, the contingent expences of government have encreaſed ſo enormouſly, that it has been neceſſary to provide, for the laſt four years, no leſs a ſum than 409,312*l.* 17*s.* 1½*d.* ſterling, which, for one year, is 102,328*l.* 4*s.* 3½*d.* independent of the revenue granted to the crown in 1728. To this muſt now be added, the Britiſh pay and ſubſiſtence of the 20th light dragoons, and the pay and ſubſiſtence of the privates of the 16th and 20th regiments, lately arrived from Halifax, which, with the iſland ſubſiſtence, and the building of barracks, may altogether exceed 45,000*l.* ſterling.

The Committee, having enquired into the difference of the expences that attended the cultivation of ſugar eſtates between the firſt and the ſecond period, endeavoured to procure the beſt account of the price of ſugars at Britiſh markets, and of the balance remaining in the hands of the Britiſh factors, at the diſpoſal of the ſugar planters, after deducting from the groſs ſales the duties, the inſurance, the freight, commiſſions, and other charges of ſale, together with the amount of the ſupplies annually exported from different ports in Great Britain and Ireland for the ſupport of their eſtates; for which purpoſe they applied to Mr. Taylor, a member of this committee, and requeſted that he would direct his clerks to extract from his books the ſales, not only of his own ſugars, but of thoſe made on eſtates entruſted to his care.

By thoſe accounts it appears, that his factors in Great Britain ſold, during the firſt period, 4,018 hogſheads, weighing 51,634 *cwt.* on an average of 34*s.* 8*d.* *per cwt.* and that, during the laſt period, they ſold 5,314 hogſheads and 10 tierces, weighing 76,365 *cwt.* on an average of 58*s.* 7*d.* *per cwt.* and that the balance at the diſpoſal of the ſugar planters, after all deductions made, was 18*s.* 4½*d.* *per cwt.* during the firſt, and 32*s.* 2*d.* during the latter period.

And here the committee cannot but point out to the houſe the extraordinary advantages reſulting to the parent ſtate from the culture of canes in the Weſt Indies; for the above calculations clearly ſhew, that when ſugars were ſelling at 34*s.* 8*d.* Great Britain received out of the ſales, for duties, ſupplies, inſurance, freight, and charges, 16*s.* 3½*d.* for each hundred weight ſo imported and ſold; and when ſelling at 58*s.* 7*d.* no leſs than 26*s.* 5*d.* *per cwt.* and as the imports of ſugar into Great Britain from the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands have amounted, on an average of the laſt four years, to 1,923,328 *cwt.* it muſt be evident (though at firſt ſight it may appear hardly credible), that Great Britain has received annually, from the amount of the groſs ſales of ſugars, and the purchaſe of ſupplies, 2,983,161*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* ſterling, beſides the benefits that reſult to her monied men from an intereſt of 6 *per cent.* and to her farmers and manufacturers from the profits of the ſugar planters, which ultimately center in Great Britain, or are expended in improvements here.

The committee have included in the above calculations the duties, amounting to 1,442,490*l.* ſterling; for though it may be alledged, that the revenue of Great Britain might derive the ſame advantages from an importation of ſugars from any foreign colony, yet the account of ſales of the factors in Great Britain prove that the duties are paid by the planters; that the factors not only deduct it out of the groſs ſales, but even charge an intereſt on it until the ſugars are paid for by the purchaſers; and that it depends on the price ſugars ſell at, whether the planter ſhall be reimburſed or not.

The committee having been able to ſtate to the houſe the price of ſugars, and the balance at the diſpoſal of the planters in the hands of their factors in Great Britain, during theſe two periods of time, it remains to ſhew the effects that theſe circumſtances have had here.

The committee find that, during the firſt period, there were 775 ſugar eſtates in Jamaica, exporting to Great Britain annually 76,897 hogſheads, which weighed at the

the home markets 980,436 *cwt.* and the balance at the diſpoſal of the planters being 18*s.* 4½*d.* *per cwt.* theſe 76,897 hogſheads neated 900,775*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* ſterling.

It is well known that the ſugar exported from hence to America (amounting, during the firſt period, to 408 hogſheads each year), and what is ſold here for the conſumption of the iſland, together with the rum, do not defray all the expences attending ſugar eſtates, if the purchaſe of ſlaves and the payment of taxes for the ſupport of government are to be added to it. The ſugar planter muſt draw bills of exchange for theſe two articles on account of the balance ſtated above to be at his diſpoſal in Great Britain.

On a very low calculation, and upon a general average, ſugar eſtates in Jamaica require an annual ſupply of ſix ſlaves each, to keep up the health, the ſtrength, and the number of its labourers. A gang of new negroes affords at firſt a great proportion of workers; but when they become old and infirm, and when the number of children increaſes, either new ſlaves muſt be bought, the old ones over-worked, or the produce of the eſtate be conſiderably reduced.

It is univerſally allowed, that two-thirds of the taxes are paid by the ſugar eſtates.

Theſe two articles being deducted from 900,775*l.* 11*s.* 6*d.* the committee find, that the ſum of 726,992*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* was the neat proceeds of 775 eſtates during the firſt period, being the whole that the ſugar planters had to ſupport themſelves and families, to educate their children, to pay the intereſt of the advances made by their factors in Great Britain, and to diſcharge the principal: this being impracticable, what was the conſequence? In the courſe of twenty years, one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven eſtates have been ſold for the payment of debts, to the total ruin of many induſtrious men; fifty-five eſtates have been thrown up; and ninety-two are ſtill in the hands of creditors: And it appears, from the return made by the provoſt-marſhal (who acts in Jamaica as ſheriff of the iſland) that 80,021 executions, amount-

ing to 22,563,786*l.* ſterling, have been lodged in his office, in the courſe of twenty years.

The four laſt years afford better proſpects; for though the price of ſlaves, of lumber, ſalted beef, pork, and herrings, is conſiderably increaſed, and the taxes are much higher, yet the neat price of ſugars to the planter having riſen from 18*s.* 4½*d.* to 32*s.* 2*d.* *per cwt.* they have begun to pay their debts, and, in conſequence of ſuch payments, have got into better credit.—In the courſe of the laſt year, 2,181 executions only were lodged in the office of the provoſt-marſhal, amounting to 569,724*l.* ſterling, and the quantity of ſugars imported into Great Britain has increaſed from 980,436 *cwt.* to 1,282,514 *cwt.* an increaſe of 302,078 *cwt.* The committee have further to obſerve, that 47 ſugar eſtates are ſettling in this iſland.

This increaſe in the value of ſugars has been occaſioned, not ſo much by an increaſe of conſumption in Great Britain and Ireland, as by a greater demand for foreign markets. It appears that Great Britain, during the years 1790 and 1791, exported 277,656 *cwt.* raw, and 278,391 *cwt.* refined ſugars; which, at the rate of 45*s.* *per cwt.* for the raw, and 90*s.* *per cwt.* for the refined ſugars, has added at leaſt 1,600,000*l.* ſterling to the balance of trade, in favour of the parent ſtate.

And here it may not be improper to obſerve, that, from the operations of an act limiting the price of ſugars to a certain ſtandard, foreign refiners and grocers, not knowing whether the drawback, and payment of the bounty, will or will not be allowed, cannot depend on being ſupplied from the Britiſh markets; and ſhould the ſugars made in the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands be thereby confined to the conſumption of Great Britain and Ireland, the importation exceeding the conſumption, the ſugar planters will return again to that ſtate of bankruptcy and ruin from which they are beginning to emerge.

The committee have further to obſerve, that the productions of the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands are as much a part of the national wealth, as if the ſame had come to

to the port of London from any part of Great Britain; that every acre of land turned into a ſtate of cultivation by the induſtry of the coloniſts, is an increaſe of wealth to the parent ſtate; that the profits of the planters center in Great Britain; for whatever price is paid for ſugar that money is immediately repaid by the planters to their creditors, or laid out in Great Britain, or expended here in improvements, which ultimately enrich Great Britain; that the exports of ſugars from Great Britain to foreign markets are as beneficial to the Britiſh trade as the exports of corn, or any other production of Great Britain; that it equally increaſes the balance of trade in its favour; that all wiſe nations have always conſidered an increaſe of wealth as much more eſſential than the increaſe of any ſpecific tax; that an increaſe of wealth produces an increaſe of conſumption, and, of courſe, renders every tax much more productive. And the committee beg leave to add, in proof of the ſtrength of theſe arguments, that from Monſieur Arnould's account of the balance of the French trade at the time the revolution took place, it appears that France exported to Italy, Holland, Germany, and the Baltic, ſugar and coffee, the productions of her Weſt India iſlands, to ſuch an amount, that ſhe received the immenſe ſum of 120 millions of livres annually from this branch of her commerce; and Monſieur Arnould adds, that, without it, the balance of trade would have been greatly againſt her.

The committee are of opinion that, theſe matters being properly ſtated to parliament, there can be no doubt that juſtice will be done to the Britiſh coloniſts; they therefore recommend to the houſe to inſtruct Mr. Fuller, the agent of Jamaica, to petition the houſe of commons, praying for the repeal of that part of the act paſſed laſt ſeſſion, entitled, *An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty, on the exportation of ſugar, and for permitting the importation of ſugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda iſlands, in foreign ſhips*, which regulates the exportation of ſugars from Great Britain to foreign markets. As to the meaſure of opening free ports in the

the Bahama and Bermuda iſlands for the importation of foreign ſugars and coffee, the committee are of opinion, that as theſe ſugars and coffee are not to be conſumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouſes until re-exported, no great injury can ariſe from it to the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands; and though there may be ſome danger that ſuch a regulation may give conſiderable uneaſineſs to foreign ſtates, particularly to France and Denmark, yet if the carrying trade of Great Britain can thereby be improved, it will increaſe the Britiſh navigation, and add to the ſecurity of this iſland.

The committee having enquired into the ſtate of the ſugar trade, proceeded to conſider the conſequences that may follow an abolition of the ſlave trade; and are of opinion, that it would not only put a ſtop to all further improvements in the culture of ſugars and coffee, but that it would in time conſiderably reduce the quantity:

That it would gradually diminiſh the number of white inhabitants in the iſland, and thereby leſſen its ſecurity:

And that it would cauſe bankruptcies, create diſcontents, and ultimately interrupt the peace and tranquillity, and affect the internal ſafety, of Jamaica; the conſequences of which would be highly injurious to Great Britain, and fatal to this valuable iſland.

In order to prove that an abolition would conſiderably reduce the quantity of ſugars and coffee, it is proper for the committee to ſhew, that the queſtion of increaſe and decreaſe in the number of our ſlaves has not been conſidered in its true point of view. No doubt, there is a decreaſe, owing to the ſeveral cauſes that have been repeatedly urged; but it is not ſo much the decreaſe in number that requires a new ſupply of labourers, as the decreaſe of effective workers. There are many planters who actually poſſeſs more negroes than they had ſome years ago; and yet theſe planters will be obliged to reduce the culture of their lands, if the trade ſhould be aboliſhed.

For

For inſtance, the committee will ſuppoſe a planter ſettling with a gang of one hundred African ſlaves, all bought in the prime of life: Out of this gang he will be able at firſt to work, on an average, from eighty to ninety labourers. The committee will further ſuppoſe, that they increaſe in number; yet in the courſe of twenty years, this gang will ſo far be reduced in point of ſtrength, that he will not be able to work more than from thirty to forty. It will, therefore, require a ſupply of fifty new negroes to keep up his eſtate; and that not owing to any cruelty, or want of good management on his part; on the contrary, the more humane he is, the greater number of old people and young children he will have on his eſtate. This decreaſe of culture will be gradual, and will not at firſt be materially felt; but, in the courſe of time, it will reduce the quantity of ſugars and coffee exported to Great Britain by her own colonies ſo much, that ſhe will be obliged to purchaſe, inſtead of ſelling, theſe articles at foreign markets, to the great benefit of other nations; who will not follow her example, but who will, on the contrary, encourage their ſugar colonies, and extend their cultivation.

The committee have further to obſerve, with regard to the coffee planters, that it is only of late years that any progreſs has been made in the cultivation of this valuable article. During the firſt period, the whole of the exports did not exceed 2,114,842*lbs.* and were annually decreaſing. In 1773 and 1774, the aſſembly of Jamaica gave great encouragement to the coffee planters, both by granting premiums, and by publiſhing every information that could be procured from thoſe parts of the world where the cultivation of coffee was ſuppoſed to be beſt underſtood: But the committee do not find that ſuch encouragements produced any effect. In 1783, the exciſe on coffee was reduced by parliament to *6d. per lb.* and this alone appears to have given new life to its culture. During the ſecond period, the exportation has been annually increaſing, and in 1791 amounted to 2,999,874*lbs.* There are at preſent 607 coffee eſtates in Jamaica, employing 21,011 negroes. The greater number of theſe eſtates are only ſettling; and as it requires

five

five years before coffee trees can be in full bearing, the committee are of opinion, that, in a few years, it will be an article of the firſt importance to Great Britain. Hiſpaniola produced, in 1789, 76,286,530 *lbs.* of coffee; which, at 90*s.* *per cwt.* is 3,432,893*l.* ſterling; but it will take many years before this unfortunate colony can recover from the dreadful calamities ſhe has been, and ſtill continues to be, afflicted with; and as France, before the rebellion of the ſlaves at Hiſpaniola, exported to Hamburgh, Bremen, Lubeck, Dantzick, Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia, ſugar and coffee to the amount of * 55,000,000 of livres, the committee preſume to think, that Great Britain, by encouraging her own coffee planters, has now a favourable opportunity of increaſing the value of her exports to Ruſſia; a moſt deſirable object, as the balance of trade is conſiderably in favour of that empire.

The moſt numerous claſs of white inhabitants in Jamaica conſiſt of the overſeers, tradeſmen, and bookkeepers, employed on ſugar eſtates, pens, and other ſettlements. It appears, from the returns of the different pariſhes, that there are now 767 ſugar eſtates, including thoſe that are ſettling, and 1,047 pens and ſettlements in coffee, cotton, and indigo, having each thirty ſlaves and upwards; and ſuppoſing that there are, upon an average, four white men on every ſugar eſtate, and one on each pen and ſettlement, their numbers will be about 4,000. All the overſeers and tradeſmen, and a few of the bookkeepers, ſave ſomething out of their ſalaries; and they have no other way of laying out their money but in the purchaſe of ſlaves; whereby the tradeſmen, if they are induſtrious, will in time be able to ſet up for themſelves in buſineſs, and the overſeers procure themſelves to retire to when old and infirm. Should the abolition take place, theſe uſeful men will hoard up all they can ſave, and, when they have made up a ſmall ſum, they will remove, and probably ſettle in the United States of America.

The committee have further to obſerve, that, from the encouragement given to overſeers, and the proſpect

* Vide Monſieur Arnould, *vol.* II. *p.* 203.

they

they have at preſent of independence, they are now in general a very reſpectable claſs of people; many being men of good families, and many having had the advantage of a liberal education: To this, in ſome meaſure, may be attributed the mild treatment of the ſlaves intruſted to their care; for manners have more influence on the morals of the people, than even the laws; ſuch men were not to be had formerly; planters were obliged to hire the firſt white men they could find; and the committee preſume to think, that the few perſons worthy of credit who have given evidence in favour of the abolition, have formed their ideas of the treatment of the ſlaves in the Weſt Indies, from what they might have formerly ſeen of the conduct of ſuch men.

The committee having ſtated, that an abolition of the ſlave trade would depopulate the country, have further to obſerve, that the ſame cauſe would produce the ſame effect in the towns: Such merchants as have already acquired fortunes by trade, ſeeing no probability of employing their money to advantage in the purchaſe of lands in Jamaica, would quit the country, and carry away their capitals; and the traders and ſhopkeepers, loſing their cuſtomers, would not be able to make their annual remittances, either to their correſpondents or to the manufacturers in Britain.

The committee have now to conſider the conſequences of an abolition with reſpect to thoſe who, having inherited, bought, or patented, unſettled lands, are now making every exertion to open and cultivate the ſame; and are of opinion, that theſe valuable men would thereby be thrown into a ſtate of deſpair, becauſe it would put it out of their power either to ſell or improve their properties.

In ſuch a ſituation, can there be a doubt that every effort will be made to ſmuggle ſlaves? Will not a man face every danger to ſave himſelf and his family from ruin? The iſland abounds with creeks and bays, where ſmall-decked veſſels may run in at any time; and, in order to prevent ſmuggling, a very conſiderable naval force muſt be ſtationed here, at an enormous expence.

Theſe

Theſe ſhips of war muſt keep the ſea during the hurricane months: But, if this duty is to be left to the cuſtom-houſe officers, unleſs they are ſupported by a military force, not one of them will be able to do their duty but at the riſk of life; and ſuch will be the diſcontents of the people, from ſo ſevere a meaſure as an abolition of the ſlave trade, that the committee have reaſon to apprehend, that even a military force would prove ineffectual. The ſlaves, ſeeing the white people in a ſtate of diſcord with each other, would do what the ſlaves have done at Hiſpaniola; they would rebel, burn the eſtates, and deſtroy the inhabitants.

The committee will now ſuppoſe the ſeizure of a ſlave ſhip: What is to become of the cargo? Are the negroes to be ſent back to Africa? If they are, what can be more cruel than to expoſe them, and the crews of the veſſels, to the dangers of a ſecond voyage, much more perilous and tedious than the firſt, and for which they would not be prepared? But, if they are not to be ſent back to Africa, and, on the contrary, to be landed here, theſe negroes will immediately become ſubject to the laws and regulations of Jamaica; and the legiſlature of this iſland will never ſuffer a number of uncivilized men to be placed in a ſtate of freedom, which would materially injure the ſafety of the country.

&c. &c. &c.

TABLES

TABLES

OF

Weſt Indian Exports and Imports

TO AND FROM

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

TABLES, &c.

NUMBER I.

An ACCOUNT of the VALUE of the WEST INDIA IMPORTS, according to the Cuſtom-Houſe Prices, imported in the following Years, viz.

YEARS.	VALUE.
1698	£.629,533
1699	586,255
1700	824,246
1701	738,601
1702	476,168
1703	626,488
1704	489,906
1705	706,574
1706	537,744
1707	604,889
1708	592,750
1709	645,689
1710	780,505
1711	556,198
1712	648,190
1713	762,248
1714	843,390

1715

YEARS.	VALUE.
1715	£.999,412
1716	1,104,188
1717	1,204,057
1718	896,031
1719	875,358
1720	1,117,576
1721	852,529
1722	1,015,617
1723	1,087,254
1724	1,160,568
1725	1,359,185
1726	1,222,511
1727	1,039,513
1728	1,498,023
1729	1,515,421
1730	1,571,608
1731	1,310,580
1732	1,315,458
1733	1,618,013
1734	1,141,068
1735	1,460,609
1736	1,423,039
1737	946,423
1738	1,475,910
1739	1,566,838
1740	1,185,107
1741	1,402,986
1742	1,309,886
1743	1,404,610
1744	1,156,952
1745	1,024,097
1746	1,148,124
1747	941,116
1748	1,615,122
1749	1,478,075

TABLES, &c.

YEARS.			VALUE.
1750	—	—	—£. 1,514,452
1751	—	—	— 1,444,775
1752	—	—	— 1,428,824
1753	—	—	— 1,838,137
1754	—	—	— 1,462,601
1755	—	—	— 1,867,256
1756	—	—	— 1,687,177
1757	—	—	— 1,906,147
1758	—	—	— 1,858,425
1759	—	—	— 1,833,646
1760	—	—	— 1,861,668
1761	—	—	— 1,953,622
1762	—	—	— 1,762,406
1763	—	—	— 2,254,231
1764	—	—	— 2,391,552
1765	—	—	— 2,196,549
1766	—	—	— 2,704,114
1767	—	—	— 2,690,673
1768	—	—	— 2,942,717
1769	—	—	— 2,686,714
1770	—	—	— 2,110,026
1771	—	—	— 2,979,378
1772	—	—	— 3,530,082
1773	—	—	— 2,902,407
1774	—	—	— 3,574,702
1775	—	—	— 3,688,795
1776	—	—	— 3,340,949
1777	—	—	— 2,840,802
1778	—	—	— 3,059,922
1779	—	—	— 2,836,489
1780	—	—	— 2,612,236
1781	—	—	— 2,023,546
1782	—	—	— 2,612,910
1783	—	—	— 2,820,387
1784	—	—	— 3,531,705

TABLES, &c.

YEARS.				VALUE.
1785	—	—	—	4,400,956
1786	—	—	—	3,484,025
1787	—	—	—	3,758,087
1788	—	—	—	4,307,866
1789	—	—	—	3,917,301
1790	—	—	—	3,854,204

NUMBER II.

UNIV. OF MICHIGAN,

JUN 22 1912

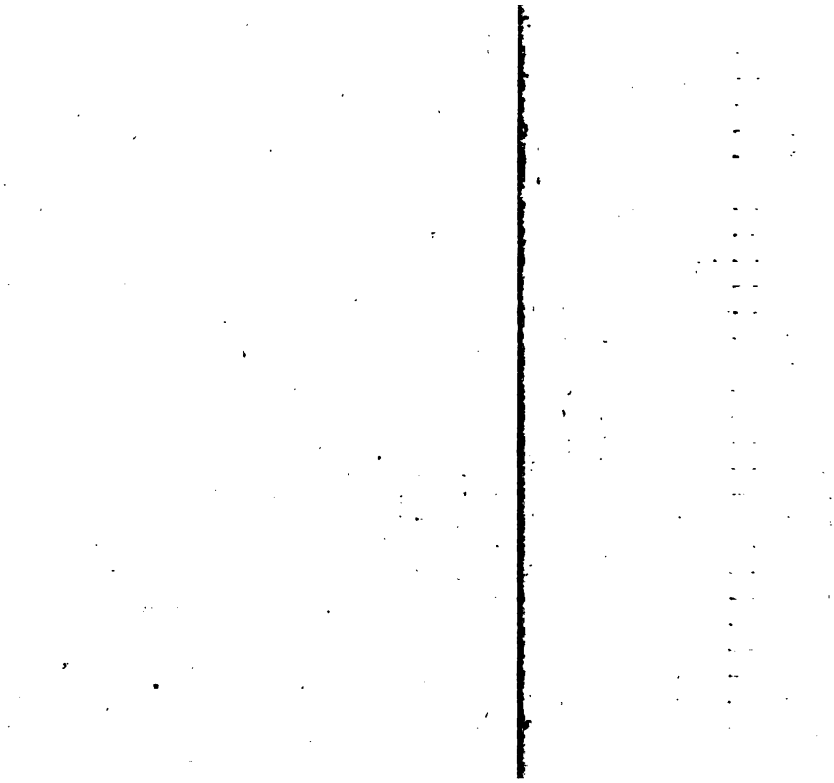
NUMB

An ACCOUNT of the QUANTITY of BRITISH PLAN
of January, 1699, and the 5th of January, 1755, and th

AL

An ACCOUNT, for the ſame Periods, of the QUANTITY
ing each Year, and the

	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.			Refined Sugar Exported.		
	QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.		
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	*cwt.*	*qrs.*	*lbs.*
1699 —	427,573	2	25	182,325	2	4	14,302	0	20
1700 —	489,326	1	7	165,391	3	16	17,644	2	23
1701 —	435,465	1	21	133,917	3	11	3,475	1	17
1702 —	259,062	3	6	45,036	1	5	2,908	2	24
1703 —	408,914	0	1	84,016	2	26	621	1	25
1704 —	315,837	2	12	133,713	1	8	1,339	0	15
1705 —	370,157	1	7	71,822	1	7	690	3	18
1706 —	335,873	3	3	107,217	0	16	1,846	2	23
1707 —	388,267	3	26	131,932	2	25	2,156	2	13
1708 —	377,107	2	11	64,180	3	6	2,365	1	18
1709 —	397,570	3	12	74,377	3	23	924	0	18
1710 —	507,662	1	21	117,075	2	5	2,146	2	21
1711 —	366,394	1	26	82,142	2	24	1,800	2	16
1712 —	423,541	0	1	119,567	1	8	8,579	2	18
1713 —	503,528	1	8	184,609	0	12	3,493	1	10
1714 —	512,221	3	0	158,996	3	6	3,482	3	5
1715 —	617,414	3	11	143,337	1	13	4,481	3	14
1716 —	684,759	2	16	161,941	3	3	4,549	0	1
1717 —	763,175	3	14	290,179	2	11	9,993	0	2
1718 —	566,885	0	1	124,375	1	13	13,188	1	9
1719 —	544,634	0	25	167,622	0	20	3,644	2	19
1720 —	706,385	3	20	121,778	0	9	3,106	3	7
1721 —	497,611	0	21	66,743	3	11	3,786	2	25
1722 —	616,941	0	9	83,609	2	5	5,245	2	2
1723 —	660,766	2	9	63,479	1	7	4,914	2	12
1724 —	729,133	2	13	110,088	1	11	5,177	2	19
1725 —	851,952	2	25	147,408	2	1	6,293	3	5
1726 —	668,346	1	9	146,915	3	22	8,414	2	7
1727 —	645,158	0	1	112,699	3	21	11,073	3	1
1728 —	972,240	0	1	210,320	3	23	29,134	1	4
1729 —	994,761	3	24	158,746	2	13	13,686	1	2
1730 —	1,024,078	2	3	167,980	1	12	14,538	0	23
1731 —	818,277	1	12	95,832	0	1	21,077	2	26
1732 —	822,844	3	15	121,904	3	18	16,511	3	18
1733 —	1,001,784	2	0	102,274	0	5	27,008	2	5
1734 —	695,679	3	9	44,932	0	8	13,275	0	26
1735 —	903,634	2	22	69,899	2	25	21,070	1	0



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ACCOUNT of the TOTAL QUANTITY of SUGAR ...irs:

An ACCOUNT, for the ſame Periods, of the QUANT... the Quantity exported to *Ireland*, and

	Quantity of Britiſh Plantation Sugar imported.			Raw... lan... En...
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	
1772 - - -	1,786,045	0	1	
1773 - - -	1,762,387	3	15	
1774 - - -	2,015,911	1	15	
1775 - - -	2,002,224	3	8	
Total - - - -	7,566,569	0	11	
Average - -	1,891,642	1	3	

The following ſhews the ANNUAL C...

Imported.——RAW SUGAR on an Aver...
Exported.——RAW and REFINED, th...

Total of h...

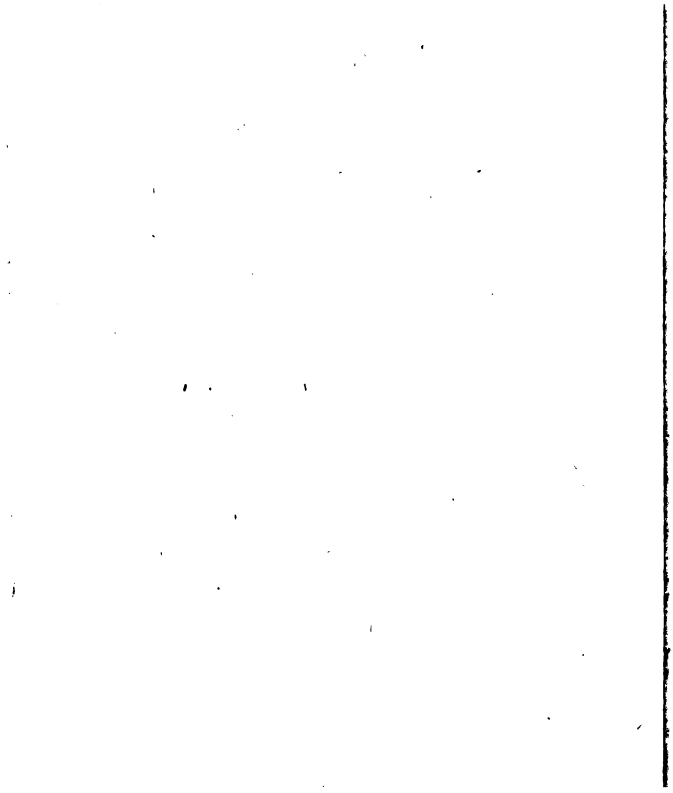
	Quantity of Britiſh Plantation Sugar imported.			Raw... lar... Er...
	cwt.	*qrs.*	*lbs.*	
1787 - - -	1,926,121	0	3	
1788 - - -	2,065,700	0	12	
1789 - - -	1,935,223	2	21	
1790 - - -	1,882,005	0	17	
Total - - - -	7,809,049	3	25	
Average - -	1,952,262	1	27	

The following ſhews the ANNUAL C...

Imported.——RAW SUGAR on an av...
Exported.——RAW and REFINED, t...

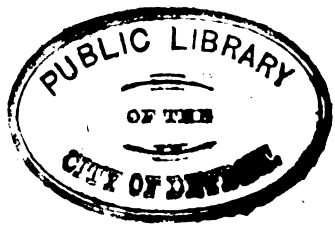
Total of h...

	£.	s.	d.		
Groſs Duties received in 1787 — — —	1,188,083	1	10	*Groſs*	s. d.
Deduct Drawbacks £.122,973 7 11				Deduc...	2 7
Bounties - 93,301 14 3					
	216,275	2	2		
Net Produce — — — — —	971,807	19	8	Net	



Year ending La

Denominations.	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.	Nevis.
Ale - - - - *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—
Aquavitæ - - *Gallons.*	—	—	120	—	—
Bacon. Hams - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	144 3 21	—	350 1 0	—	—
Bacon. Flitches - *Flitches*	52	—	102	—	—
Beef - - - - *Barrels.*	3,213	2,806½	15,012	24	391½
Beer - - - - *Barrels.*	120½	—	446	—	—
Bread - - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	92 0 14	64 0 0	500 0 14	—	12 0 0
Bullion - - - *Ounces.*	—	—	—	—	—
Butter - *Cwt. qrs. lbs*	1,328 1 7	2,898 1 21	9,811 1 14	11 0 0	311 0 03,
Candles - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	226 2 0	363 0 21	590 1 0	1 2 0	98 0 0
Cards, Playing *Doz. Packs.*	—	—	150	—	—
Cheese - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	13 3 14	1 0 0	69 2 7	—	—
Cordage - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	40 0 0	—	60 0 0	—	—
Cyder - *Tuns, Hhds. Galls.*	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Barley - - *Barrels.*	—	—	6	—	—
Corn. Beans - - *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—
Corn. Oats - - *Barrels.*	1,065	232	192	—	573
Corn. Peafe - - *Barrels.*	1½	19	10½	—	—
Corn. Wheat - - *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—	—
Drapery. New - - *Yards.*	300	120	15,320	—	—
Drapery. Old - - *Yards.*	750	720	143	—	—
Feathers - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	3 3 0	—	—	—
Fish. Herrings - *Barrels.*	84	133½	5,801	30	—
Fish. Ling - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	5 2 0	3 3 0	18 2 0	—	0 1 15
Fish. Salmon - *Tuns, Trs.*	18 3	4 1	6 4½	—	5 0
Flannel - - - *Yards.*	—	—	80	—	—
Fuftians - - - *Yards.*	—	—	296	—	—
Glafs. Cafes - - - *No.*	—	—	—	—	—
Glafs. Drinking - *Num'.*	7,902	—	4,824	—	—
Glafs. Ware - - - *Value.*	216 19 0	9 16 0	248 3 0	—	—
Gloves - - - *Pairs.*	—	—	156	—	—
Groceries Small Parcels *Val.*	3 0 0	—	8 10 0	—	—
Haberdy. Thread - *Pounds.*	—	8	—	—	—
Haberdy. Small Parcels *Value.*	—	1 16 0	22 13 0	—	—
Hair. Cows - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—
Hair. Horfe - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—	—
Hair Powder *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	13 0 7	6 0 0	17 0 0	—	1 0 0
Hardware - - - *Value.*	—	—	—	—	—
Hats - - - - *Numb.*	450	500	144	—	—
Hogs Lard - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	8 2 0	—	—	—	—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OF THE
CITY OF

Denominations.	Year ending			
	Antigua.	Barbadoes.	Jamaica.	Montserrat.
Hides. Tanned - *Num.*	10	—	—	—
Ditto - *Cwt. qrs.*	—	7 3 21	—	—
Untanned - *Num.*	—	—	—	—
Horses - *No.*	35	—	—	—
Iron. Wrought, *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	60 0 0	—	42 1 0	—
Small Parcels, *Value.*	—	3 10 0	1 0 0	—
Linen, Cotton, and Silk Manufactory - *Value.*	1,362 15 4	794 10 0	3,002 10 3	—
Linen. Cambric - *Yards.*	—	—	3,563	—
Cloth Plain - *Yards.*	177,873	86,492	590,990	—
Coloured - *Yards.*	8,883	3,965	57,035	—
Meal. Flour - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—
Groats - *Barrels.*	—	10	8	—
Oatmeal, - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	200 0 0	101 0 0	23 0 0	—
Millinery Ware - *Value.*	—	—	—	—
Mutton - *Barrels.*	—	—	—	—
Oil, Rape, *Tuns, Hhds. Gs.*	—	—	0 0 24	—
Paper, Writing - *Reams.*	—	6	67	—
Pork - *Barrels.*	2,022	3,617	9,378	10
Sadlers Ware - *Value.*	80 10 0	2 0 0	67 7 0	—
Salt - *Bushels.*	—	—	156	—
Shoes - *Pounds.*	787	1,220	1,062½	—
Soap - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	45 1 7	56 1 14	799 3 21	1 0
Skins. Calve - *Doz. No.*	4 0	—	28 7	—
Goat - *Cwt. qrs. No.*	—	—	6 3 20	—
Stationary Ware - *Value.*	13 15 0	7 13 0	47 6 9	—
Stockings. Cotton - *Pairs.*	—	—	24	—
Thread - *Pairs.*	—	—	108	—
Woollen - *Pairs.*	—	—	—	—
Starch - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	21 0 0	—	17 0 0	—
Stone Blue - - -	—	—	—	—
Tallow - *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	7 0 14	22 1 0	216 3 0	—
Tongues - *Dozens.*	394 6	238 10	1,046 10	3 0
Upholstery Ware - *Value.*	—	28 0 0	—	—
Wax Candles, *Cwt. qrs. lbs.*	—	—	—	—
Small Parcels in general, *Value.*	158 10 1	103 3 5	348 15 3	—